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VIEWS

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS

OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN ARMY, &c.

COMPRISING,

Sketches of the Campaigns of Generals Hull and Harrison—A minute and interesting account of the Naval Conflict on Lake Erie—Military anecdotes—Abuses in the army—Plan of a Military Settlement—View of the Lake Coast from Sandusky to Detroit,

BY SAMUEL R. BROWN.

"NOTHING EXTENUATE, NOR SET DOWN AUGHT IN MALICE."

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Views of the Campaigns
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Without detaining the reader with the formality of a *preface*, I come directly to my object, which is, to give an *impartial* view of the Campaigns of the North-Western Army, &c.

The aspect of affairs on the north western frontier, had determined the executive of the United States, as early as April, 1812, to send a respectable military force into the Michigan Territory. The open hostility of several of the Indian tribes in that quarter; the defenceless condition of the frontier inhabitants and the moral certainty of a war with England, rendered this measure indispensible. If the expedition had been as ably executed and supported, as it was wisely planned, the happiest consequences would have resulted—the effusion of much blood prevented.

Weighty considerations required that this force should be promptly raised. Accordingly a requisition for a detachment of 1500 men, was made to the governor of Ohio, who thereupon immediately issued orders to the commandants of divisions to furnish 500 men each.

About 400 of the 4th regiment, the gallant heroes of Tippecanoe, under Col. Miller, were at the same time ordered to descend the Ohio, from Pittsburgh, and join the detachment at the general rendezvous.

Government *ought* at the same time to have commenced the building of two twenty gun brigs at Erie – the command of the lakes being all important to the succes of land operations. Suppose general Hull had taken Malden, how was he to receive supplies, while the British controuled the navigation of Lake Erie, and while the savages commanded the forests and could ambush the convoyes of provisions, at every half mile, for a distance of 200 miles?

The task of organizing the Ohio troops devolved on Governor Meigs. They were composed entirely of volunteers. The men, with the exception of the senior officers, were in the very prime of life, and animated with a noble ardor in their country's cause. The ranks were filled with uncommon expedition, and partly by citizens of the first distinction.

The exertions of the governor on this occasion, ought never to be forgotton. With a celerity never before equalled in a new country, he collected, from every part of the state, a corps of 1500 men and organized them into three regiments, the command of which, the

troops conferred on Cols. M'Arthur*, Cass, and Findley.

The duties of his excellency became arduous and important. Arms, accoutrements, camp equipages and stores, were all to be provided. The public arsenal could furnish but little; rifles, knapsacks, blankets, tents, bullet moulds—every thing in short was wanting; hower, the creative genius of governor Meigs, and the patriotism of the *Ohionians*, supplied all deficiencies, and the detachment was shortly placed in a condition for marching.

The troops rendezvoused at Dayton, on Mad River. On the 25th of May, governor Meigs surrendered the command to brigadier gen. Hull, who had been appointed to conduct the expedition; he had been at the seat of government in April, where he had made arrangements for the campaign. His orders were *discretionary*.

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* When Colonel M'Arthur received orders to furnish his quota from his division, he addressed his fellow citizens, and after a handsome exposition of the causes and the necessity of an appeal to arms, said,—"Volunteers from every part of the division will be accepted until the number required is made up. I shall myself be one of them. Should the detachment from the second division think proper to honor me with the command, I will accept of it, otherwise I will cheerfully shoulder my firelock and march in the ranks."

The governor addressed the troops in a style calculated to produce a deep impression; he thanked them in the name of the President of the United States and informed them that the second army was organizing and would follow if necessary.

Gen. Hull followed :—"In marching thro' a wilderness memorable for savage barbarity," said he "you will remember the causes by which that barbarity has been heretofore excited. In viewing the ground stained with the blood of your fellow citizens, it will be impossible to suppress the feelings of indignation. Passing by the ruins of a fortress*, erected in our territory in times of profound peace, and for the express purpose of exciting the savages to hostility and supplying them with the means of conducting a barbarous war, must remind you of that system of oppression and injustice which that nation has constantly practised, and which the spirit of an indignant people can no longer endure."

At the close of the general's speech, the troops uncovered and gave 6 cheers as a testimonial of respect for their beloved chief magistrate and their new commander.

On the 27th gen. Hull pitched his tent in

* Fort Miami, erected by the British in 1794; its ruins are to be seen on the left bank of the Miami of the lakes, a little below Fort Meigs.

camp Meigs, on the western bank of the river, and on the same day the United States' flag was hoisted. At the raising of the flag, the troops formed a hollow square around the standard expressive of their determination, not to surrender it but with their lives.

On this occasion Col. Cass said:

"*Fellow Citizens*—

"The standard of your country is displayed. You have rallied round it to defend her rights and avenge her injuries. May it wave protection to our friends and defiance to our enemies; and should it ever meet in the hostile field, I doubt not that the eagle of liberty, which it bears will be found more than a match for the lion of England."

The fourth regiment having joined general Hull, the army removed from Dayton on the 1st of June, and commenced its march for Detroit.

Gov. Meigs accompanied the army to Urbanna, for the purpose of holding a council with 12 Indian chiefs of the lake tribes. It was agreed to renew the treaty of Grenville; after smoaking the calumet of peace, both parties called on the *Great Spirit* to witness the sincerity of their professions. The Indians appeared unusually friendly, gave permission to gen. Hull to march through their

country and to erect block houses every 20 miles which he did.

From Urbana to the Rapids of Miami is 180 miles. The route of the army was thro' a thick and almost trackless forest. As there were a great number of baggage waggons attached to the army, it became necessary to open a new road the whole distance. The soil of the land was moist, being in many places a perfect swamp. The weather was rainy and man and horse had to travel mid leg deep in mud. Frequently the van had to halt for the rear, which was as often detained in its march in relieving waggons and horses from the mire.

Almost every officer and soldier of general Hull's army, with whom I conversed on the subject, concurred in stating that the march of the army from Dayton to Detroit was as rapid as was practicable, considering the natural obstacles to be overcome. Most of them, however, charge him with a vain show of military parade in passing small rivers. His plan of encampment at night, was a hollow square, defended always by a temporary breast work of felled trees. The troops received no annoyance from the enemy, on their march, if we except the wounding of a sentinel, who was shot through both thighs.

When the troops arrived at the Rapids of

the Miami of the Lakes, the general put on board a small vessel the baggage and hospital stores of the army with 30 men and several officers wives, with directions to sail to Detroit. This was a fatal error; for the British having been apprized of the declaration of war, captured the vessel at Malden. Thus the army sustained a serious and irreparable loss; it is even said that the general's trunk containing his instructions and a copy of the declaration of war, was taken in the vessel. He had been previously notified of the existence of war with England!

The Americans reached Detroit on the 6th of July, after having patiently endured incredible fatigue, and the privations peculiar to a march of 150 miles extent, through a wilderness.

The inhabitants of the Michigan Territory, were pleased at the well timed appearance of so numerous a force, but they regretted the choice made in the commander in chief. The general, while governor of the territory, had never been fortunate enough to command the popular confidence, though many of his official acts were certainly founded in political wisdom. However, 600 of the territorial militia rallied under his standard, among whom, were one company of *free blacks*, mostly renegadoes from Kentucky.

On the evening of the 12th of July, gen. Hull crossed the river Detroit, at the head of more than 2000 men, and took possession of Sandwich, from which the enemy retreated at his approach. Here he fixed the American standard, and issued the following proclamation :

Inhabitants of Canada !

After thirty years of peace and prosperity, the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain have once more left them no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission. The army under my command has invaded your country ; the standard of the Union now waves over the territory of Canada. To the peaceable unoffending inhabitants, it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to find enemies, not to make them. I come to protect not to injure you.

Separated by an immense ocean and an extensive wilderness from Great Britian, you have no participation in her councils, no interest in her conduct. You have felt her tyranny, you have seen her injustice. But I do not ask you to avenge the one, or to redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford every security consistent with their rights and your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessing of civil, po-

litical and religious liberty, and their necessary result, individual and general prosperity; that liberty which gave decision to our councils, and energy to our conduct in a struggle for independence—which conducted us safely and triumphantly through the stormy period of the revolution—that liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank among the nations of the world; and which offered us a greater measure of peace and security, of wealth and improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any people. In the name of my country, and the authority of government, I promise you protection to your persons, property and rights; remain at your homes; purse your peaceful and accustomary avocations; raise not your hands against your brethren. Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy. Being children therefore of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage, the arrival of an army of friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of freedom. Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance, but I do not, I come prepared for every contingency. I have a force which will look down all opposition, and that force is but the vanguard of a much greater—If, contrary to your own interest and the just expectation of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered as

enemies, and the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you. If the barbarous and savage policy of G. Britain be pursued, and the savages are let loose to murder our citizens and butcher even women and children, THIS WAR WILL BE A WAR OF EXTERMINATION. The first stroke of the tomahawk—the first attempt with the scalping knife, will be the signal of an indiscriminate scene of desolation. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner—instant death will be his lot. If the dictates of reason, duty, justice and humanity cannot prevent the employment of a force which respects no rights, and knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation. I doubt not your courage and firmness—I will not doubt your attachment to liberty. If you tender your services voluntarily, they will be accepted readily. The United States offer you peace, liberty and security. Your choice lies between these and war, slavery and destruction. Choose then, but choose wisely; and may he who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in his hand the fate of nations, guide you to a result the most compatible with your rights and interests, your peace and happiness."

This proclamation was well calculated to inspire confidence and secure the friendship of the Canadians, such indeed was its influence, that the greater part of the militia in the ser-

vice of the crown, actually deserted and either retired to their homes or joined the American army.

However, when our army first made its appearance on the Canada shore, the inhabitants were frightened and sought refuge in swamps and forests, from an enemy whom they were taught to believe were more cruel and rapacious than savages; but when they perceived the troops were not disposed to injure their persons or property, they returned to their homes in full confidence of protection.

The Indians appeared to hesitate in the choice of friends, being no doubt, awed into *neutrality* by so sudden and unexpected a display of the American power on the north western frontier.

The troops were in high spirits, anxious to be led against the enemy's post at Fort Malden—at that time indefensible and feebly garrisoned. The moment seemed favourable to strike an important, perhaps a decisive blow. American patriots throughout the Union were waiting with torturing impatience for the "glorious news!" that the stars and stripes waved over the ramparts of blood stained Malden. Alas! what a cruel disappointment were they doomed to experience!

Col. M'Arthur was detached with about 150

men to the river Thames, where he captured a considerable quantity of provisions, blankets, arms and ammunition. Another party was sent to Belle Donne, for the purpose of securing several hundred merino sheep, the property of the Earl of Selkirk. These parties met with no opposition and were received in a friendly manner by the inhabitants.

On the 15th Col. Cass was detached with 280 men to reconnoitre the enemy's advanced posts. They were found in possession of the bridge over Aux Cannards river, 5 miles from Malden. After making a suitable reconnoisance of their position, that excellent officer ascended the river about 5 miles to a ford, & thence down on the south side, to the enemy whom he attacked and drove from their position. This was the first time since the revolution, that *American militia* had come in contract with *British regulars*. Our men moved to the attack with great spirit. Three times the enemy formed, and as often retreated.—Night compelled our troops to relinquish the pursuit. Col. Cass encamped on the scene of action during the night, and on the 18th returned to camp, without further molestation. If the enemy had been *then* in force, would they not have made him pay dear for his temerity, for thus having dared to sleep with a small detachment, within less than 5 miles from their main depot of men and stores!

Other small detachments were occasionally sent down to the river Aux Cannards, to discover the force and position of the enemy; the result was frequent skirmishing without material loss to either side. In one of those rencontres however, the Americans lost seven killed and ten wounded. The horse of Col. M'Arthur was shot under him. The Queen Charlotte, which was at anchor off the mouth of the Aux Cannards, saluted our men with several broadsides. Col. M'Arthur and Capt. Puthoff, being on a reconnoitering excursion very narrowly escaped falling into an ambush of the Indians. Such was the nature of the *petite guerre* maintained in Canada while our troops were in possession of Sandwich, it had no *visible* object and served only to depress the ardor of our troops and encourage the enemy.

In the mean while Michilimackinac had surrendered to the enemy without resistance, a reinforcement of 400 regulars under the indefatigable Brock, had arrived at Malden, and numerous Indian chiefs began to take their ground.

On the 4th of August Major Van Horn was detached with 200 men, principally riflemen, to proceed to the river Raisin, for the purpose of escorting a convoy of provisions to the army. At Brownstown a large body of Indians had formed an ambuscade, and our troops re-

ecived a galling fire at the distance only of 50 yards from the enemy. The whole detachment retreated in disorder. Major Van Horn made every exertion to rally them but in vain, our loss was seventeen killed—seven of whom were officers, 4 Captains and 3 Lieutenants.

The names of the brave captains, who fell and whose bodies were shockingly mangled by the Indians, were Gilchrist, Ullery, M'Cullach and Boerstler.

"Alas! nor wife, nor children more shall they behold, nor friends nor sacred home."

This gallant attempt having proved unsuccessful, Col. Miller was detached on the 8th with 600 men, to open the communication, and protect the provisions which were under the escort of Capt. Brush. The detachment consisted of regulars and Ohio and Michigan volunteers. On the 9th about 4 o'clock P. M. the vanguard, commanded by capt. Snelling, was fired upon by an extensive line of British troops and Indians at the lower end of the village of Maguago, 14 miles from Detroit. At this time the main body were marching in two columns at the distance of half a mile. Capt. Snelling maintained his position in a most gallant manner, under a very heavy fire, until the line was formed and advanced to his relief, when the whole, excepting the rear guard, was brought into action. The enemy were formed behind a breast work of felled trees,

which they had been several days preparing. The moment Col. Miller had brought up his troops in line, the enemy sprang from their hiding places and formed in line of battle. A scene that would appal the stoutest heart now presented itself. The Americans had to contend with a force one third greater than their own. Five hundred indians almost entirely naked, were fighting on almost every side, led on and encouraged by British officers and savage chiefs. But American valor rose superior to every thing. Our troops charged and drove the enemy inch by inch, 2 miles, to the village of Brownstown, where the British took to their boats and the Indians to the woods. When the enemy were in full rout, Col. Miller directed a troop of cavalry to charge and cut them up—but they could not be made to advance, although capt. Snelling offered to head them in person. This cowardice of the cavalry alone saved the enemy from total destruction, for the British were in complete disorder and their guns unloaded.

Col. Miller having thus opened the way, was determined to push on to the River Raisin, but received a peremptory order from Gen. Hull to return to Detroit, which he obeyed the day after the battle. On their return towards Detroit, our troops were frequently fired upon from the Brig Hunter, which took several positions for that purpose; even the wounded

who were conveyed in waggons, were inhumanly fired upon.

The *allies* lost in the battle of Maguago, about one hundred killed and twice that number wounded. They were commanded by major Muir of the British regulars, who was wounded. Tecumseh, Marpot and Walk-in-the-water, directed the Indians.

The Americans had 18 killed and 58 wounded: thus was much blood spilt without achieving the object of the detachment. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the officers and men generally, engaged in that conflict. Col. Miller proved himself by his courage and judicious arrangements, equal to a more responsible command. Capt. Baker was wounded in the leg. Lieutenant Larabee lost an arm. These officers distinguished themselves.—Capts. Delandre and Brevoort, of the Michigan volunteers conducted in a brave and soldier-like manner.

At lenght after a *lapse of almost four weeks,**

*The *pretext* for remaining from the 12th of July till the 8th of August, a period of *twenty seven days* inactive in Canada, was the *construction of gun carriages.* The Gen. says in his official dispatch to the secretary of war, dated Sept. 16, 1812, that "the greatest industry was exerted in making preparations [to attack Malden] and it was not until the 7th of Aug. that *two* 24 pounders and three howitzers were prepared." Here then the whole army, except those on detachments, and all the carpen-

the cannon were mounted and every preparation made for an immediate investment of Malden. At a council, at which were present all the field officers, says colonel Cass in his official letter to the secretary of war, and which was held two days before the preparations were completed, it was universally agreed to make an attempt to accomplish the object of the expedition. If, by waiting two days, they could have the service of their heavy artillery, it was agreed to wait, if not, it was determined to go without it, and attempt the place by storm. This opinion appeared to correspond with the views of the commander in chief, and the day was appointed for commencing their march. Gen. Hull declared to the officers that he considered himself pledged to lead the army to Malden. The ammunition was placed in the waggons; the

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ters of the Michigan Territory and of Sandwich, were *industriously* employed 27 long summer days, in mounting *five* carriage guns! What an outrage on common sense! But let us hear the sequel! "The clouds of adversity thickened and the two senior officers of the artillery stated an opinion that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to pass the Turkey river and river Aux Cannards with the 24 pounders." It follows, consequently, that the *mill* was built, without first ascertaining whether or not the *water* could be conducted to it! *Twenty seven days* were consumed in mounting *five* carriage guns, and lo! they are useless! they cannot be got across the *rivers* Turkey and Aux Cannards! which, in fact, are no *rivers* at all; besides we had been in possession of the bridges and were at all times superior to the enemy.

cannon were placed on board the floating batteries, and every requisite article was prepared. The spirit and zeal, the ardor and animation displayed by the officers and men, on learning the near accomplishment of their wishes was a sure and sacred pledge, that in the hour of trial they would not be found wanting to their country and themselves.

But Gen. Hull abandoned the plan of attacking Malden, broke up his camp, evacuated Canada and recrossed the river on the night of the 8th of August, without the shadow of an enemy to injure him.

The Canadians, who had joined the American army were abandoned to the vengeance of their old masters. The confidence of the army in its general was destroyed.

The commander in chief had even spoken of a *capitulation*, but his field officers had determined, as a last resort, to incur the responsibility of divesting him of his command; but this measure was prevented, either by a respect for military discipline, or by two of the commanding officers of regiments (M'Arthur and Cass) being ordered on detachments.

The "*clouds of adversity*," which had been for some time gathering, now assumed a more threatening aspect.

Shortly after the Americans retreated from Canada, General Brock, who well knew how to avail himself of every advantage, advanced from Malden and took a position directly opposite Detroit, where without the least interruption, he was permitted to establish a battery, and that too, at a time, when the Americans were *decidedly* superior in numerical force.

On the 14th of August Cols. M'Arthur and Cass were ordered to select 400 of their best men for the purpose of securing Capt. Brush and the convoy of provisions still at the river Raisin. This detachment were to take a circuitous route; but the effort proved abortive, for on the evening of the 16th they received orders from gen. Hull to return with all possible expedition.

On the 15th, an officer arrived from Sandwich, bearing a flag of truce from gen. Brock, demanding the surrender of Detroit, and stating that he could no longer restrain the fury of the savages! To this an immediate and spirited refusal was returned. Shortly after the enemy opened their batteries upon the town. The fire was returned and continued without interruption till dark.

At day light the firing on both sides recommenced. About the same time the enemy began to land troops at the spring wells, three

miles below Detroit. At seven o'clock they had completed their landing and immediately took up their line of march. They moved in close column of platoons, 12 in front, upon the bank of the river.

The 4th regiment was stationed in the front, the Ohio volunteers and a part of the Michigan militia behind a line of pickets, in a situation to gall the whole flank of the enemy.—The residue of the Michigan militia were in the upper part of the town to resist the incursions of the savages. The 24 pounders loaded with grape shot, were posted upon a commanding eminence, ready to sweep the advancing column. In this situation, our troops in the eager expectation of victory, awaited the approach of the enemy. Not a sigh broke upon the ear, not a look of cowardice met the eye. Every man expected a proud day for his country, and each was anxious to perform his duty.

When the head of the hostile column had arrived within about 500 yards of the American line, general Hull ordered the whole to retreat to the fort, and the 24 pounders not to fire upon the enemy! One universal burst of indignation was apparent upon the receipt of this order. The folly and impropriety of crowding 1100 men into a little work, which could fully man, and into which the shot and shells of the enemy were falling, was pal-

pable. But the fort was in this manner filled, and the men directed to stack their arms! Shortly after a *white flag* was hung out upon the walls. A British officer rode up to enquire the cause. A communication passed between the commanding generals, which resulted in the surrender of Detroit and the whole Michigan Territory, to the British arms!*

All the American troops, not only those in the fort, but the detachment of Cols. M'Arthur and Cass, and the troops under captain Brush, amounting in the whole to more than 2000 men, were, in the articles of capitulation, pronounced prisoners of war.

There was surrendered with the fort, 39 pieces of cannon, 2500 stand of arms, with a considerable quantity of military stores and provisions. The United States' brig Adams, of 6 guns fell into the hands of the enemy.

That the American army were superior to

*There is a direct contradiction of the causes which led to the surrender of Detroit, in the official letters of general Hull and Col. Cass. The misfortune gave rise to much speculation much regret and violent censure. I never saw a single individual of gen. Hull's army, but what fully corroborated the statement of Col. Cass in all its particulars. There is not but *one* individual sentiment on this head, in the Michigan Territory. Every one affirms that there existed no cause for the surrender. The event came like a clap of thunder on the inhabitants; no one had anticipated it.

the enemy in point of numbers, is proved by the statements of col. Cass, and capt. Dobbin, as well as the official account of gen. Brock.

The indignant aspect of our troops, after the surrender, alarmed the British commander so much, that he evinced the utmost solicitude to get rid of them, by sending them off immediately in different directions, dismissing many without even asking their parole. The Ohio volunteers were landed at Cleveland. The remnant of the brave 4th regiment were sent to Quebec, and experienced the most brutal treatment.

The *consequences*, of the surrender of gen. Hull's army are not to be all described within the limits of this work. The wide scene of flight and misery, of blood and desolation, which followed this disastrous event, is at once beyond the descriptive powers of the writer and the conception of the reader. The whole north western frontier of Ohio was laid open to savage incursion.

The chagrin of disappointment, added to the serious loss of a fine army, cast a temporary gloom over the whole union, but this sentiment soon subsided, and all felt the necessity of immediate action. Pennsylvania and Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio, all felt eager to wipe away the deep stain on our national character. Volunteers every where presented

themselves, and but a short period elapsed before an army was ready, as if by magic, to retrieve the fortune of arms. A leader was wanting—all eyes looked, with a common impulse upon the hero of Tippecannoe; the united voice of the people of the west called on the governor of Kentucky to dispense with all formalities, and general *William Henry Harrison*, was brevetted a major general, with directions to take command of the north western army.

Fortunately at the very instant of general Hull's surrender, a brigade of Kentuky volunteers and some regulars, under gen. Payne, were on their march to reinforce the north western army; but the movements of this corps were by no means as rapid as they ought to have been. If this officer did not *prevent*, as most probable he might have done, the fall of Detroit he was in a situation to arrest in some measure the inroads of the enemy into Ohio.

About this time news was received of the evacuation of fort Dearborn, situated at the south end of lake Michigan, and of the massacree of the garrison. On the 15th of August capt. Heald abandoned the fort and commenced his march for fort Wayne. The party was accompanied by 100 Confute Indians.—They had not marched more than half a mile, when they were attacked by 600 Kickapoo

and Winnebago Indians. The Confutes immediately joined the enemy. The contest lasted but ten minutes, when every man, woman and child, amounting to 123 souls, were killed except fifteen who were carried into captivity.

On the 3d of September, the Indians made a furious assault on Fort Harrison. They kept up a brisk fire the whole night, and one time had actually succeeded in making a breach in the defences of the place. The roofs of the buildings were several times on fire; one of the block houses was burnt. Captain Taylor, however, succeeded in defending the post and finally beat them off. The scene was enough to try the soul of a hero. There were but 18 effective men in the fort, and two of them, in a moment of despair, leapt the pickets to escape. The night was dark, the raging of the fire, the yelling of several hundred savages, and the cries of the women were sufficient to excite terror in the stoutest heart. For this heroic defence, capt. Taylor was shortly afterwards promoted to a major by the President.

Early in September, a large British and Indian force left Malden to lay waste the frontiers of Ohio. Fort Wayne was the leading point of attack.

On the 4th of September, general Harrison

arrived at Urbanna and assumed the command of the north western army. The rapids of the Miami of the Lakes, were fixed upon as the point of concentration, the several corps of which were to move in the following directions ;—2000 Pennsylvania volunteers, under brigadier general Crooks, were to move from Pittsburgh along the shores of lake Erie ; general Tuppers brigade of Ohio volunteers were to take Hull's route from Urbanna to the rapids ; 1500 Virginians, under brig. gen. Leftwich, were to take the same route, whenever they should arrive. General Payne's brigade of Kentucky volunteers, with the 17th United States' regiment, Col. Wells, were to advance to fort Wayne and descend the Miami ; such was the disposition of the forces which were to constitute the *new* army.

A considerable Indian force appeared before fort Wayne on the 5th. They invested the place closely for several days ; they burnt the United State's factory and many other valuable houses. A brother of gov. Meigs, and two soldiers were killed near the fort.

Gen Harrison marched with the brigade of gen. Payne and the regulars to relieve fort Wayne, the enemy fled at his approach.

There was now a favourable moment for making the Indians feel the effects of the war. An expedition was accordingly projected

against several towns within two days march of that place. The whole force was divided and placed under the command of general Payne and Col. Wells. The former was directed to destroy the Miami towns at the forks of the Wabash; and the latter to go against the Potawatamie villages at Elk Hart.

The commander in chief accompanied gen. Payne on the expedition: four of the Miami villages were burnt, three of which were remarkably flourishing. All the corn was cut and up piled, in order that it might rot before the enemy could return to prevent it. Col. Wells was equally successful; he destroyed several villages and returned to camp without loss.

At this time general Winchester arrived at fort Wayne and general Harrison resigned the command of the detachment under gen. Payne and col. Wells, to him, in obedience to the arrangements of the war department. Considerable discontent and murmering was observable among the troops when they were informed of the change; but on being addressed by gen. Harrison, they appeared better satisfied. He assured them that if any thing could soften the regret which he felt at parting with men who had so entirely won his confidence and affection, it was the circumstance of his committing them to the charge of one of the heroes of the revolution, a man distinguished as well

for the services he had rendered his country, as for the possession of every qualification which constitutes the gentleman.

The conduct of the troops was highly honorable to their character as soldiers: for ten days, while on active and severe duty, they had scarcely a sufficiency of food to sustain them, and entirely without some articles of the ration—and that too without complaint and with an alacrity which only could have been expected from veteran troops. But such was their personal attachment to gen. Harrison, that they would have suffered almost any fatigue or privation without a murmer.

An order of the secretary of war, invested general Harrison with the command of all the troops, *excepting* the corps of gen Winchester! This equality in the authority of the two generals was liable to much collision and might have produced, between two officers of co-equal powers, and possessing less magnanimity, serious consequences to the nation.—The rank of major general was confirmed to gen. Harrison by the prisdent; still that of gen. Winchester possessed priority of date, and gen. Harrison was to command the largest force. The *troops* considered general Harrison commander in chief.

The war department, on this occason at least, performed its duty to the full extent of

its ability; every thing requisite for the supply of the army was forwarded with all practicable expedition.

One circumstance, above all, must not be overlooked. The greater part of the volunteers now concentrating under gen. Harrison, consisted of men whose families and property were not exposed to danger, and who consequently, were influenced by the most disinterested patriotism. Col. R. M. Johnson, a member of congress, from Kentucky, who has since so nobly distinguished himself, was among the foremost.—Gen. Harrison fixed his headquarters at St. Marys; gen. Winchester advanced to fort Defiance. He found the enemy in possession of the ground and too strong for his force; he dispatched an express to gen. Harrison, who immediately marched to his assistance with 2000 mounted riflemen and musketeers all furnished with three days provisions. In the mean time, however, the enemy had suddenly decamped and descended the Miami. Our troops went in pursuit but could not overtake them. This was the expedition from Malden; they had several field pieces. Tecumseh commanded the Indians.

The attention of the commanding general was now for some time confined to arranging depots of provisions, ammunition and clothing, in opening roads, building boats and erecting block houses, preparatory to the march of the

army to the *object* of the campaign. His exertions were indefatigable.

On the 4th of October brigadier gen. Tupper received orders to proceed to the rapids with the whole of the mounted force, in condition for service; but in consequence of the *counter orders* of gen. Winchester, the movement was not executed. Gen, Tupper made an exposition of the causes which produced the failure of the expedition. This exposition very clearly proved that both Winchester and Tupper were incapable of command.

On the 25th of November the celebrated partizan chief, LOGAN*, died of his wounds.

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*He in company with captain Johnny and Brighthorn, had been sent by General Winchester to make discoveries at the rapids. They had not proceeded but a few miles, when they were taken prisoners by five Indians, under Winnemac and a son of Colonel Elliott. Logan told them they had come to join them; this induced them to permit Logan and his associates to carry their arms and to march before them. Logan determined to rescue himself or die in the attempt; he communicated his intentions to his comrade and when a suitable opportunity offered, they turned upon their enemy and each one brought his man to the ground; the remaining three fired upon Logans party and wounded Logan and Brighthorn. Logan, although mortally wounded, exchanged a second shot with the enemy, when he and Brighthorn jumped upon the horses of two of those they had just slain, and left Captain Johnny to cover the retreat, which he did in a gallant manner, after having scalped Winnemac. Winnemac was the chief that commanded

This loss was regretted by the whole army. He was a brave and enterprising warrior, sincerely attached to the Americans, and possessed a powerful influence over the Indians.

On the 8th of November a detachment of 600 men, commanded by col. Campbell, left Franklinton on an expedition against the Miami Indians, living on the head waters of the Wabash. On the 17th of Dec. they arrived at one of the Missassinway villages, surprized, killed 5 warriors and took 37 prisoners. They burnt three other villages 3 miles further down the river, and then returned to the first town destroyed, and encamped. About an hour before the dawn of day, they were attacked in the camp. The fire commenced on the right line, commanded by major Ball, who sustained and returned it till day light, when the Indians were charged and dispersed with the loss of 30 killed. Our loss was 8 killed and 25 wounded---several mortally. A great number of horses were killed, several officers were wounded; lieutenant Waltz of the Pennsylvania troop was shot through the arm, but not satisfied, he again attempted to mount his horse, and in making the effort, was shot thro' the head. The prisoners were treated with humanity, even the warriors who ceased to resist, were spared, which is not the usual cus-

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at Tippecanoe. Young Elliot was among the slain—his body was afterwards taken up by his father, and conveyed to Malden.

tom in expeditions against the Indians. The sufferings of the men from cold, hunger and fatigue, on their retreat from Mississinway, were beyond measure. They were in the centre of an Indian country. The terrible Tecumseh was known to be within a few hours march. The sick and wounded were to be carried on litters; their march was slow, tedious and circumspect. At night only half of the men could sleep, while the other were on guard. They suffered greatly from the inclemency of the weather; numbers were frost bitten. Pleurisy and bad colds afflicted almost the whole corps. Why the Indians suffered them to escape total destruction, is unaccountable. Perhaps the death of their celebrated *Prophet*, who is supposed to have been killed in this affair, was the cause of their not harrassing our men in their retreat.

The officers of major Ball's squadron, who sustained the brunt of the action and who were complimented by general Harrison, in a general order, for their valor and good conduct, were major Ball, captains Hopkins and Garrard of Kentucky; captains Markle and M'. Clelland, of Pennsylvania.

On the 14th of December the left wing of the army moved from fort Winchester to the Rapids. At this time the Ohio troops were at fort M'Arthur---the Pennsylvanians at Mansfield and the Virginians at Delaware,---

General Harrison fixed his head quarters at Upper Sandusky. The provisions and military stores, and the trains of artillery having reached the different depots, the hopes of the nation that victory would soon crown the efforts of the north western army, were cherished in confidence.

On the 14th of January, col. Lewis advanced towards the river Raisin. On the 18th he found the enemy in force, and disposed to dispute the possession of the place. He attacked them in the town; on the first onset the savages raised their accustomed yell. But the noise was drowned in the returning shouts of the assailants. They advanced boldly to the charge and drove them in all directions. On the first fire sixteen of the Indians fell, about 40 were killed. Col. Lewis' party lost 12 killed and 52 wounded.

On the 18th gen. Winchester followed with a reinforcement, and concentrated his troops, amounting to 800 men, at the village of Frenchtown—600 of which were posted behind a picket fence—200 which composed the right wing were encamped in an open field entirely uncovered.

On the 22d they were attacked by a combined British force under Tecumseh and Proctor. The attack commenced on the right wing at beating of reville. Our troops were

immediately ready for the reception of the enemy. The right wing sustained the shock for about 20 minutes. when overpowered by numbers, they retreated over the river and were met by a large body of Indians, who had been stationed in their rear. This party finding their retreat cut off, resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible, and fought desperately—few of these escaped. The left wing with Spartan valor, maintained their ground within their pickets. The enemy's regulars made three different charges upon them; they advanced in platoons to charge the pickets, keeping up a brisk fire. Our men within the pickets, with the most determined bravery and presence of mind reserved their fire until the enemy advanced within point blank shot. They then opened a cross fire upon them—their pieces were leveled—and in this manner mowed down his ranks till he retreated in confusion.

Gen. Winchester and Col. Lewis had been taken prisoners in an early part of the battle, in attempting to rally the right wing. At 11 o'clock a flag arrived from general Winchester to major Madison, who commanded in the pickets, informing our men he had surrendered them prisoners of war and requested their compliance; whereupon a capitulation took place, and they were immediately marched off for Malden. The Americans lost nearly 400 men in killed wounded and missing. Among

the officers, col. Allen and captains Hickman, Simpson, (a member of congress) Mead, Edwards, Price and M'Cracken.

During the whole of the action a heavy cannonade was kept up by six pieces of artillery. The courage of men was never more severely tested. The party that retreated at the commencement of the battle, were pursued, surrounded and litterally cut to pieces. Some succeeded in getting three miles from the scene of action, but were overtaken and massacreed. The snow was crimsoned the whole distance with the blood of the fugatives.

After the capitulation, the American commanding officer remonstrated with General Proctor, on the necessity of protecting the wounded prisoners from the fury of the savages: that officer pledged himself to attend to it, but he *forgot to keep his word*; they were left without the pomised protection, and on the morning of the 23d, horrible to relate, the *allies* of a CHRISTIAN KING, stripped, scalped, tomahawked and burnt all of them who were unable to walk.*

*The fate of Captain Hart was peculiarly distressing.—He had received a flesh wound and particularly distinguished himself by his undaunted bravery. After the capitulation, Captain Elliot, who had been a class mate with him at Princetown college, waited on Captain Hart

The dead were denied the rites of sepulture;* the living were treated with the greatest indignity. The prisoners were generally stripped of their clothing, rifled of their cash,

and unsolicited, promised him his protection, declaring that the next morning he would have him taken to his own house at Malden, there he should remain until his recovery.—But Elliot broke his promise and left him to his fate! On the next day, a band of savages came into the house where he was confined, and tore him from his bed. But he bargained with one of them and gave him a considerable sum of money to have himself taken to Malden. They set off, and after travelling as far as the river Aux Sables, they were met by a fresh band of Indians, who shot the captain upon his horse and tomahawked and scalped him! Numbers were put to death after they had been several days in custody. At Sandy Creek an Indian appproached a volunteer of the name of Blythe and proposed to exchange his mocasins for Blythe's shoes, with this he readily complied; after this they exchanged hats; the Indian then raised his tomahawk and struck Blythe on the shoulder which cut into the cavity of his body: Blythe then caught hold of the tomahawk and attempted to resist, but on one of his fellow prisoners telling him that his fate was fixed, he closed his eyes and received the savage blow that terminated his existence. Hamilton deposed that when the prisoners were marched from Raisin to Detroit, they came up to where one of the prisoners was burning, the life just expiring, and an Indian kicking the ashes off his back. For further particulars the reader is directed to consult "*Barbarities of the Enemy*" recently published in Troy by Mr. Adancourt, and containing the official details of these outrages against nature and humanity.

* I was told by several of the inhabitants of Frenchtown, while at Detroit, that they had frequently seen the hogs and dogs devouring the bodies of the Americans and that it was not uncommon to see them running about with skulls, legs, arms and other parts of the human system in their mouths.

and the swords of the officers given to the savages. Men whose education, talents and character ought to have entitled them to respect, had their feelings grossly outraged.

The advance of general Winchester to the river Raisin, was not authorised by the orders of general Harrison; the motives of the general were no doubt good, but to his imprudence is attributed the failure of the campaign. He was induced to make the movement in consequence of the earnest solicitude of the inhabitants of that place, who were threatened with a general massacre by the Indians.

As soon as general Harrison learnt the exposed situation of gen. Winchester's corps he ordered a detachment from gen. Perkin's brigade under col. Cofgreaves, to march with all possible expedition to his relief—but so much time was lost in *preparation*, that it only arrived in hearing distance at the commencement of the battle, and then suddenly retraced its streps.

Why a commanding officer, situated as gen. Winchester was, within a few hours march of Malden, and liable every moment to be surprized, should suffer his men to be encamped in detached and exposed situations, in the manner they were, is a question not yet explained. The night before the battle a French man arrived from Malden, and informed the

the enemy had commenced their march. This information, which was made known to gen. Winchester, was disregarded. His quarters were 3 or 400 yards from camp. He did not arrive at the scene of action till the right wing had begun to give way.

I cannot forbear to notice in this place a circumstance that reflects the greatest lustre on the military character of the Kentuckians. On their march from fort Defiance to the Rapids, the horses were worn out and nearly famished for want of forage. The men themselves, were destitute of many articles of the first necessity. Yet these circumstances did not in the least damp their ardor. When the horses were no longer able to draw, these gallant sons of Mars harnessed themselves to the sleds, and in this manner, with cheerfulness and alacrity, conveyed their baggage sixty miles through frost and snow—thus, manifesting an intrepidity of character which rivals that of Greece or Rome.

Yet these were men, whose homes, for the most part, were seats of elegance and wealth —but their spirits were not to be broken by adversity. Notwithstanding they were compelled to travel on foot and with scarcely a covering for their backs, in the dead of winter, from Malden to Buffalo, and from thence to Kentucky a distance of 800 miles, still not *a murmer escaped their lips!* Their honest

hearts sprung forward with the elastic hope, that their wrongs would be avenged and the day of retribution arrive.

After the defeat of gen. Winchester, gen. Harrison retreated from the Rapids 18 miles, and took a position at Portage river. It being found impracticable to remove all the provisions, a considerable quantity was destroyed.

On the 30th gen. Harrison dispatched capt. Lamon, Doct. M'Keehan and a Frenchman with a flag of truce to Malden. They encamped the first night near the Rapids, and hoisted the white flag; but this was not respected—the Indians fired upon them while asleep, killed Lamon, wounded Dr. M'Keehan and took the Doctor and the Frenchman prisoners.

Governor Meigs having promptly ordered out two regiments of Ohio militia, to reinforce gen. Harrison; the army again advanced to the Rapids and commenced building fort Meigs. gen. Crook's brigade in the mean time were busily employed in fortifying at Upper Sandusky.

General Harrison having learnt that a body of Indians were collected at Presque Isle, near the mouth of the Miami, marched from his camp at the Rapids, on the 9th of February at the head of a detachment of his army, to attack them. The enemy fled—our troops pur-

sued almost to the river Raisin, but finding it impossible to overtake them, the troops returned to camp much exhausted with fatigue. Such was their desire to come up with the foe that they marched 60 miles in 21 hours.

On the 27th of February, a detachment of 150 men, under capt. Langham, left the Rapids for the purpose of destroying the Queen Charlotte, near Malden—the ice was found too far decayed to accomplish the object of the expedition.

On the 15th of April a desperate rencontre took place on the Miami, a few miles below fort Meigs, between ten Frenchmen, from the river Raisin, and about an equal number of Indians, both parties were in canoes, and they maintained the fight untill the greater part on both side. were either killed or wounded.

The army were now engaged incessantly in strengthening the posts of fort Meigs, Upper Sandusky and fort Stephenson. General Harrison left the army for the purpose of consulting with gov. Meigs, and for expediting the march of the reinforcements. No event of moment occurred during the remainder of the winter.

In March, workmen began to cut timber at Erie, for the purpose of building two 20 gun

brigs—the requisite number of ship carpenters arrived at that place.

The term of service of the greater part of the militia composing the north western army, having expired, new levies, from Ohio and Kentucky, were ordered on to supply their places. But these not arriving in season, the Pennsylvania brigade generously volunteered their services for another month, to defend fort Meigs, which was menaced with an attack. This conduct was the more honorable, as this corps had undergone incredible hardships during the winter, in dragging the artillery and stores from Sandusky to the Rapids.*

* A private in the Pertersburgh volunteers, draws the following picture of a foldiers life; It deferibes the march of his company at the time of Winchefter's defeat.—"On the fecond day of our march a courier arrived from General Harrifon, ordering the artillery to advance with all poffible fpeed; this was rendered totally impoffible by the fnow which took place, it being a complete fwamp nearly all the way. On the evening of the fame day news arrived that general Harrifon had retreated to Portage river, eighteen miles in the rear of the encampment at the Rapids. As many men as could be fpared determined to proceed immediately to reinforce him. It is unneceffary to ftate that we were among the firft who wifhed to advance. At 2 o'clock the next morning, our tents were ftruck, and in half an hour we were on the road. I will candidly confefs, that on that day I regretted being a foldier. On that day we marched thirty miles, under an inceffant rain; and I am afraid you will doubt my veracity when I tell you, that

On the 20th of April, gen. Harrison returned to fort Meigs and began to prepare for the approaching storm. Patroling parties were frequently sent out to discover the movements of the enemy, who had been discovered on the margin of the lake.

On the 26th the advance of the enemy made its appearance on the opposite shore, and after reconnoitring a few minutes, withdrew. On the 27th they returned, but were soon made to retire by the balls from the fort. Ever since the General had arrived in camp, the greatest diligence was displayed by the officers and soldiers. Fortifications of various

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in eight miles of the best road, it took us over the knees and often to the middle. The Black Swamp (four miles from Portage river, and four miles in the extent) would have been considered impassable by all but men determined to surmount every difficulty to accomplish the object of their march. In this swamp you lose sight of *terra firma* altogether—the water was about six inches deep on the ice, which was very rotten, often breaking through to the depth of four or five feet.

"The same night we encamped on very wet ground, but the driest that could be found, the rain still continuing. It was with difficulty we could raise fires; we had no tents, our clothes were wet, no axes, nothing to cook in, and very little to eat. A brigade of pack horses being near us, we procured from them some flour, killed a hog, (there being plenty of them along the road;) our bread was baked in the ashes, and the pork we broiled on the coals—a sweeter meal I never partook of. When we went to sleep, it was on two logs laid close to each other, to keep our bodies from the damp ground. Good God! what a pliant being is man in adversity. The loftiest spirit that ever inhabited the human breast would have been tamed amid the difficulties that surrounded us."

descriptions were carried on with unparallel. led exertions. Every moment of the general was occupied in directing the works. He addressed the men in a most masterly and eloquent manner, on the situation in which the fortune of war had placed them, and of the importance of every man's being vigilant and industrious at his post. This address converted every man into a h[illegible] it inspired them with a zeal, courage and patriotism never surpassed.

On the 28th the enemy commenced a very brisk fire of small arms—in the evening the Indians were conveyed over the river in boats and surrounded the garrison in every direction. Several of col. Ball's dragoons volunteered to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, but before they had got far from the fort they were fired on by the Indians and compelled to return.

On the 29th the seige began in earnest, all communication with the other posts was cut off. The firing was kept up the whole day. The enemy had progressed so far in the construction of their batteries during the night, that they afforded them sufficient protection to work by daylight. A man was this day mortally wounded as he was standing near the general.

April 30—the besieged kept up a well di-

rected fire against the enemy's batteries and considerably impeded their progress. Boats filled with men were seen to pass to the fort Meigs side of the river; this induced the gen. to believe that their intention was to draw his attention to their batteries, and to surprize and storm the camp in the rear. Orders were therefore given for one third of the men to be constantly on guard, and the remaining two thirds to sleep with their muskets in their arms, and to be constantly prepared, at a moments warning, to fly to their post. These orders were strictly obeyed, and every duty performed with cheerfulness. Nothwithstanding the incessant fire of the enemy, the men were obliged to go to the river for water every night—the well not being finished. Several of the men were this day wounded and the general being continually exposed, had several narrow escapes. During the night the enemy towed up a gun boat near the fort and fired at point blank shot for some time, but without effect. They retired from his position as soon as it was light enough for our gunners to see her.

The grand traverse was now completed, as well as several small ones in various directions. The fire from the garrison was begun with effect. During the day (May 1st) the enemy fired 256 times from their gun batteries. Their 24 pound shot passed trough the pickets without cutting them down. Our

gunners silenced one of their pieces several times. They did not fire so rapidly as the enemy, but with a better aim, 8 of the Americans were wounded this day, a bullet struck the seat on which the general was sitting, and a volunteer was at the same time wounded as he stood directly opposite to him.

On the 2d of May both parties commenced firing very early with bombs and balls, and continued it very briskly all day. Our troops had 1 killed and 10 wounded, besides several others slightly touched with Indian bullets. The enemy this day fired 457 cannon shot.

The next day commenced with a very brisk and fierce firing of bombs and cannon balls, and continued at intervals all day. They opened two botteries upon the fort, which they had established on this side of the river, within 250 yards of the rear right angle of the camp, one of which was a bomb bettery. An Indian who had ascended a tree, shot one of our men through the head, and six were killed by the enemy's bombs. They fired 516 times during the day, and 47 times during the night.

It rained very hard on the 4th which retarded the fire of the beseigers. A new battery was discovered erecting on this side of the river, in the same direction with the others, and traverses were commenced to guard

against them. Several were killed and wounded, lieut. Gwynne killed a British officer on this side the river with a rifle. 223 shot were fired this day.

General Clay was now at fort Winchester, with 1200 men, on his way to relieve the garrison.

On the 5th the enemy kept up but a feeble fire, but they killed three men with bombs. An officer arrived with a detachment of gen. Clay's men, with the welcome news that the general was but a few miles up the river, descending in boats. An officer was sent to him with directions for him to land one half of his force on the opposite side of the river, for the purpose of forcing the enemy's batteries and spiking their cannon. Col. Dudley, who was charged with the executtou of this movement performed it in fine style, but his men elated with their success, continued to pursue the retreating enemy till they were finally drawn into an ambush and overwhelmed by superior numbers; the greater part of this detachment were killed or taken prisoners. Some few effected their escape to the garrison. About 40 of these unfortunate men were tomahawked by the Indians, several hours after their surrender. The killed on the field of battle were horribly mutilated. Colonel Dudley was among the killed. He displayed in his last moments the most heroic firmness, and actu-

ally killed one Indian after he was mortally wounded.

The other moity of general Clay's force, if not less prudent, were more fortunate; when they landed a little above the fort, they could easily have made the fort without loss, but instead of doing this or securing their sick and baggage, they marched directly into the woods in pursuit of a few Indians that were purposely leading them to their destruction. Gen. Harrison perceiving their folly, caused col. Ball to sally out with the cavalry and protect their retreat to the fort. He succeeded in bringing them into the fort; but in the the mean while a party of Indians had tomahawked their sick, left in the boats, and plundered their baggage.

While Col. Dudley's party was engaged with the enemy on the left bank of the river, several brilliant and successful charges were made on the right. In these charges, colonel Miller, maj Alexander, capt Croghan, Longhom, Bradford and Nevving, were conspicuous. Our troops conducted with the most determined bravery; all their batteries on this side were carried, and many prisoners taken.

From the 6th to the 9th there was no firing. Flags of truce passed and repassed between the two armies. An exchange of prisoners

took place. The Kentucky militia, taken at Dudley's defeat, were to be sent to Harrison, in order to return home by that route. On the morning of the 9th the enemy commenced their retreat down the river, after having been before the place 13 days, during which time he had fired at the works, 1800 shells and cannon balls, besides keeping up an almost continual discharge of small arms. The American loss during the seige in the fort and in the different sorties on this side, was 72 killed and 196 wounded. The loss of col. Dudley's detachment was about 200 killed and missing. That of the enemy was about equal.

One reason why our men did not sustain a greater loss in the fort, was because the men had contrived a kind of bomb proof retreat all along the ditch immediately behind the pickets. They would watch the enemy's fire and knew when to squat into their hiding places. By this means many valuable lives were saved.

Vast quantities of rain fell during the seige —the soil within the pickets is clay, and the constant treading of the men and horses caused the whole area of the fort to become a perfect bed of morter half leg deep, the frequent bursting of shells caused it to fly in every direction, covering officers and men with mud.

The army not being sufficiently strong for

offensive operations, it became necessary to wait for reinforcements, and for the completion of the vessels of war building at Erie.

The head quarters of the general were transferred to Seneca town on the Sandusky. Gen. Clay was charged with the defence of fort Meigs. Generals M'Arthur and Cass were actively employed in recruiting two regiments of 12 month's regulars in the state of Ohio.

In June the general held a council with a number of Indian chiefs, who had hitherto professed neutral sentiments, to whom he made three propositions;—To take up arms in behalf of the United States—To remove within our settlements and remain neutral—Or to go to the enemy and seak his protection. After a short consultation among themselves, they accepted the first, and prepared to accompany him in the invasion of Canada.

The hostile Indians continued to make inroads into the settlement and committed frequent murders. A party from Malden coasted down the lake as far as Cold Creek, where they killed scalped and made prisoners, one man, three women and nine children.

An event took place, however, that had a salutary influence in repressing the audacity of the Indians. As col. Ball, with 22 of his

squadron were descending the sandusky, the foremost of his party were fired upon from a thicket by a band of 18 Indians, who had placed themselvs in ambush for the purpose of killing the mail carrier. Col. Ball instantly charged upon them and drove them from their hiding place. The ground was favourable for cavalry, and the Indians finding neither mercy nor the possibility of escape, gave a whoop, and fought desperately till the whole party were cut to pieces. Col. Ball was at one time dismounted, opposed in personal contest to an Indian of gigantic stature—it was a desperate and doubtful struggle, life was at stake, both exerted to the utmost—an officer rode up and rescued the colonel by shooting the Indian through the head. After this terrible example, not an indian ventured to cross the Sandusky in quest of plunder and blood.

On the first of August general Proctor made his appearance before fort Stephenson, 20 miles above the mouth of the river Sandusky. His troops consisted of 500 regulars and about 700 Indians of the most ferocious kind. There were but 133 effective men in the garrison and the works covered one acre of ground. Major George Croghan commanded the place. The pickets were about ten feet high, surrounded by a ditch with a block house at each angle of the fort—one of which contained a six pounder...this was the exact state

of the post, at the time the enemy appeared. The first movement made by the enemy, was to make such a disposition of his forces, as to prevent the escape of the garrison, if they should be disposed to attempt it. He then sent col. Elliot with a flag, to demand the surrender of the fort. He was met by ensign Shipp. The British officer observed, that gen. Proctor had a number of cannon, a large body of regular troops and so many Indians, whom it was impossible to controul, and if the fort was taken, as it must be, the whole of the garrison would be massacred. Shipp answered that it was the determination of major Croghan, his officers and men, to defend the garrison or be buried in it, and that they might do their best. Colonel Elliot addressed Mr. Shipp again—"You are a fine young man, I pity your situation; for God's sake surrender, and prevent the dreadful slaughter which must follow resistance." Shipp turned from him with indignation, and was immediately taken hold of by an Indian, who attempted to wrest his sword from him. Major Croghan observing what passed, called to Shipp to come into the fort, which was instantly obeyed and the tragedy commenced. The firing began from the gun boats in the rear, and was kept up during the night. At an early hour the next morning, three *sixes*, which had been planted during the night within 250 yards of the pickets, began to play upon the fort, but with little effect. About 4, P. M. all the

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ary's guns were concentrated against the north western angle of the fort, for the purpose of making a breach. To counteract the effect of their fire, M. j. C. caus d that point to be strengthened by means of bags of flour, sand and other materials, in such a manner that the picketing sustained little or no injury.—But the enemy supposing that their fire had sufficiently shattered the pickets, advanced, to the number of 500, to storm the place, at the same time making two feints on different points. The column which advanced against the north western angle, were so completely enveloped in smoak, as not to be discovered until it had approached within 18 or 20 paces of the lines, but the men being all at their posts, and ready to receive it, commenced so heavy and gallant a fire as to throw the column into confusion, but being quickly rallied, lieut. col. Short, the leader of the column exclaimed, "come on my brave fellows, we will give the dam'd yankee rascals no quarters," and immediately leapt into the ditch followed by his troops; as soon as the ditch was entirely filled by the assailants, major Croghan ordered the six pounder, which had been masked in the block house, to be fired. It had been loaded with a double charge of musket balls and slugs. This peace completely raked the ditch from end to end. The first were levelled the one half in death—the second and third either killed or wounded every one except eleven, who were covered by the dead

bodies. At the same time, the fire of the small arms was so incessant and destructive, that it was in vain the British officers exerted themselves to lead on the balance of the column; it retired in disorder under a shower of shot, and sought safety in an adjoining wood. The loss of the enemy in killed was about 150, besides a considerable number of their *allies* were killed. The Americans had but one killed and seven slightly wounded. Early in the morning of the 3d, the enemy retreated down the river, after having abandoned considerable baggage.

The garrison was composed of regulars—all *Kentuckians*, a finer company of men is not to be found in the United States, perhaps not in the world. They are as humane as courageous. This is proved by their unceasing attention to the wounded enemy after their discomfiture; during the night, they kindly received into the fort, through the fatal port hole of the block house, all those who were able to crall to it: to those unable to move they threw canteens filled with water. They even parted with their clothes to alleviate the sufferings of the wounded.

Gen. Harrison had ordered major Crogh to destroy the stores and abandon the fort, case the enemy made his appearance. H dared to disobey the order, and has thereb immortalized himself.

While Proctor and Dixon were investing fort Stephenson, Tecumseh, with a band of 2000 warriors and some British troops, approached fort Meigs. They hovered round the place for several days and then withdrew, without doing any material injury to the garrison.

When the news of the attack on fort Stephensonson reached gov. Meigs, he made a spirited call to the patriotism of Ohio; such was its effect that 15,000 men were immediately in motion to repel the invaders. Fortunately their services were not required.

The tide of victory began now to set with a strong current in favor of the American arms. On the 10th of September, com. Perry captured the whole British force on Lake Erie. This victory removed the principal barrier to the conquest of Malden and the recovery of Detroit.

At the same time the general began to concentrate his forces at the mouth of Portage river*. The greatest activity was visible in camp; in preparing for the descent on Canada—boats were collected—beef jerked—the superfluous baggage secured in block houses

* From the 13th of September, until the return of the army to Detroit, after the battle of the Thames, the writer of this work served as a volunteer, for the most part, in Colonel Ball's legion, and was an actor in the events narrated.

and a substantial log fence two miles long, extending from Portage river to Sandusky bay, was built to secure the horses during the operations of the army.

On the 17th gov. Shelby with 4000 volunteers, arrived at the head quarters. This formidable corps were all mounted; but it was deemed best for them to act as infantry, and leave their horses on the peninsula. On the 20th gen. M'Arthur's brigade, from fort Meigs, joined the main body, after a very fatiguing march of three days down the lake coast.

Col. Johnson's mounted regiment remained at fort Meigs, but had orders to approach Detroit by land and to advance *part passu* with the commander in chief, who was to move in boats through the islands, to Malden, and of whose progress, the colonel was to be daily informed by a special express.

The British prisoners, taken in the naval action of the 10th, were sent to Chilicothe, guarded by a part of col. Hill's regiment of Pennsylvania detached militia. The different posts on the American side of the lake, were left in charge of the Ohio militia*, Fort Meigs,

* The Ohio and Pennsylvania militia, at this time indulged a belief that the general was partial to the Kentuckians. Whether this jealously was well founded or not, it is obvious that gov. Meigs took umbrage at the general's letter, recommending to him the reduction of

which till now had covered eight acres of land, was reduced in its dimensons to one acre. About 500 Kentuckians were to remain at Portage to guard the horses* and stores.

Every thing being now ready, the embarkation of the troops commenced at the dawn of day, on the 21st. For the want of a sufficient number of boats, not more than one third of the army could embark at once.

There is a range of islands extending from the head of the Peninsula, to Malden. These islands render the navigation safe, and afford the army convenient depots for baggage and stores, as well as halting places.

Put-in-bay island, sixteen miles from Portage, was selected by the general as the first point of rendezvous—the first stage in his passage across the lake. The weather was favorable. As soon as the first divison of boats reached the island, men were immediately detached to take back the boats for a fresh load. Such was the eagerness of the men to accelerate the embarkation of the whole army, that they, in most cases, anticipated this regulation

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the number of the Ohio volunteers, at that time on their way to join the north western army.

*The number of horses left on the Peninsula, during the absence of the army in Canada, was upwards of five thousand! for the most part, of the first size and condition.

by volunteering their services to return with boats. Every one courted fatigue.

The fleet of commodore Perry, was busily engaged in trasporting the baggage of the army. In the course of the 22d the whole army had gained the island, and emcamped on the margin of the bay, which forms nearly a semi circle.

The lawrence, and the six prize ships, captured from the enemy, were at anchor in the centre of the bay, and in full view. With what ineffable delight did we contemplate this interesting spectacle! The curiosity of the troops was amply indulged; every one was permitted to go on board the prizes to view the effects of the battle. The men were highly pleased with this indulgence of the general and the commodore. The scene was calculated to inflame their military ardor, which was visible in every countenance.

The army was detained at Put in bay during the 23d and 24th by unfavourable winds. On the 24th, a soldier of the regular forces was shot for desertion. He had deserted three times—had been twice before condemned to suffer death, and as often pardoned; he met his fate with stoical indifference, but it made a very sensible impression on the troops.—Two platoons fired on him, at the distance of

five paces, and perforated his body like a sieve*.

On the 25th the army again embarked partly in boats and partly on board the fleet, to take a nearer position to the Canadian shore. The flotilla arrived a little before sunset, at a small Island called the *Eastern Sister*, eighteen miles from Malden and seven from the coast. This Island does not contain more than three acres, and the men had scarcely room to sit down.

On the 26th the wind blew fresh, it became necessary to haul up the boats, to prevent their staving. The general and commodore in the Ariel, made a reconnoissance of the enemy's coast and approached within a short distance of Malden. Capt. *Johnny* was dispatched to apprize col. Johnson of our progress. Gen. Cass, col. Ball and capt. M'Clelland were busy in arranging and numbering the boats. At sunset the lake had risen several feet; indeed,

* It is worthy of remark that but few soldiers were shot in the north western army; and so unfrequent was deſertion, that from the time I joined it, till its departure from fort George, not a ſolitary inſtance occurred; at leaſt none came to my knowledge, although I made frequent enquiries as to the fact. I am not willing to attribute this extraordinary fidelity to the public ſervice, to the ſuperior patriotiſm of the people of the weſt, or a nice ſenſe of the force of moral obligations. The cauſe is evident—the officers are generally, more attentive to their men, than thoſe of the northern army.

such was the violence of the surf that many entertained serious fears that the greater part of the island would be inundated before morning. However the wind subsided at twelve and relieved our apprehensions.

On the 27th at nine in the morning the army made its final embarkation. The day was fine, and a propitious breeze made our passage a most pleasing pastime. It was a sublime and delightful spectacle to behold 16 ships of war and 100 boats filled with men, borne rapidly and majestically to the long sought shores of the enemy. The recollection of this day can never be effaced from my memory. There was something truly grand and animating in the looks of the men. There was an air of confidence in every countenance. The troops panted for an opportunity to rival their naval brethren in feats of courage and skill; they seemed to envy the good fortune of our brave tars. They were ignorant of the flight of the enemy, and confidently expected a fight; indeed the belief was current among the troops that the enemy were in great force; for it was believed that Dixon's Indians as well as Tecumseh's were at Malden.

We landed in perfect order of battle at [illegible] P. M. three miles below Malden. The Kentucky volunteers formed the right wing Ball's legion and the friendly Indians the centre-

the regulars on the left. The troops were almost instantly in line and shortly commenced their march, *en echelons*, for Malden. The troops had been drilled to marching in and out of boats and to forming on the beach: Every man knew his place; and so well were they masters of this very necessary piece of service, that a company would march into a boat, debark and form on the beach in less than one minute, and that too without the least confusion.*

As we approached Malden, instead of the red coats and the war whoop of the Indians, a group of well dressed ladies advanced to meet us, and to implore mercy and protection. They were met by governor Shelby, who soon quieted their fears by assuring them that we came not to make war on women and children but to protect them.

The army entered Malden by several parallel streets and we marched through the town to the thunder of "*Yankee Doodle.*"

The ruins of the fort and the naval buildings were still smoking. All the loyal inhabitants followed the British army in its retreat. The fortifications of Malden must have cost the British government a vast sum. The fort

* This proficiency is applicable only to the regulars and twelve months volunteers. The militia officers did not attend to it.

is surrounded by a deep ditch and two rows of heavy pickets; the walls are high and the adjacent country as level as a lake. What cannon and small arms they were unable to carry away were sunk in the river.

The town may contain 150 houses, mostly framed—a part are consructed of hewn logs; its appearance is worthy of its character—as dark and as gloomy as Erubus. The inhabitants are composed of renegadoes, Scotch, Irish and Canadian French. Very few men were to be found, and those invariably French. Perhaps it would be unjust to attempt the portrait of the character of the inhabitants where so few remained at home. I will therefore only mention one FACT. A well known horrid trafic, has so completely blunted the feelings of humanity, that the exhibition of *scalps* in the streets, in the most terrific forms, by the Indians, produces no emotion of horror even in the female bosom! The spectacle has become so familiar to the eye, that it has lost the interest of curiosity—and is beheld with as much indifference as we view the pedlary of a furman.

Opposite the place lies the Island of Bois Blanc, on the lower end of which was a heavy battery which defended the entrance to the harbor. The enemy in their haste had left a 18 pounder in this battery.

Perhaps there is not a place in America that possesses so great convenience for ship building, as Malden. The descent of the shore is in proper angle for launching; besides, the water is deep and the timber can be floated to the spot in any quantity and at a short distance, except pine which is found on the Thames, on the St. Clair river and on the shores of the lakes. They had collected a considerable quantity of timber, which they attempted to burn, but without success.

The country is settled to the distance of twenty miles below Malden. Col. Elliott's house stands on the bank of the river, half a mile below the village—he has an extensive orchard and a park, his house was deserted. We found excellent peaches, of which we made free use, without enquiring the price.

Three miles above the fort is an Indian village which we found deserted, and so suddenly that many essential articles of Indian furniture, such as brass kettles, were left in the houses. Here we procured a plentiful supply of green corn, potatoes, &c. This village was not burnt.

In the evening after our arrival at Malden, Col. Ball dispatched an officer and twenty men to prevent the enemy's destroying the bridge across the Aux Canards. The enemy were found on the bridge having just set fire to it;

Our party fired on them, they dispersed and the bridge was saved.

On the 28th we passed the Aux Canards, and encamped two miles beyond the river, in a neat French settlement. A small party of British horse shewed themselves at the bridge and then scampered off.

The next day we reached Sandwich at two o'clock in the afternoon. At the same time the fleet came up the river to Detroit. The general made dispositions for passing the river. Gov. Shelby's corps remained at Sandwich, while Ball's legion and the brigades of Generals M'Arthur and Cass passed over to Detroit.

The Indians appeared in groupes, on the bank of the river below Detroit; a few shots from the gun boat caused them to disperse.

The Indians did not leave Detroit till the boats containg the troops were half way across the river. Just before we landed on the American side the inhabitants hoisted the U. S. flag amid the acclamtions of thousands. We were received by the inhabitants with demonstrations of unfeigned joy. They had suffered all that *civilized* and savage tyranny could inflict, save death. The Indians had lived at free quarters for several months. It was natural for them to hail us as deliverers.

The enemy had set fire to the fort, but the walls and picketing remained entire. The public store, a long brick building near the wharf was injured only in the roof, which our men soon repaired. In the course of the night there was an alarm in camp, the fires were extinguished, and the men ordered to lie on their arms.

On the 30th Col. Johnson's regiment arrived from Fort Meigs, they immediately commenced the passage of the river in boats.—Gen. M'Arthur with the mass of the regular troops was charged with the defence of Detroit. It was the general opinion of the Inhabitants that there were 1000 Indian warriors, under Marpot and Split Log, lurking in the woods between the river Rogue and Huron of Lake St. Clair. The friendly Indians had taken several prisoners in the immediate vicinity of Detroit.

On the 2d of October every arrangement was completed for pursuing the retreating British army up the Thames. The force selected for this service were the mounted regiment of Col. Johnson, three companies of Col. Ball's legion and the principal part of Governor Shelby's volunteers.

From Sandwich to the Moravian Towns is eighty four miles. We found the roads for the most part good. The country is perfect-

ly level. The advance of the troops was rap
id—so much so, that we reached the river
Riscum which is about twenty five mile
from Sandwich in the evening. The enemy
had neglected to destroy the bridge. Earl
in the morning of the 3d, the general proceed
ed with Johnson's regiment, to prevent th
destruction of the bridges over the differen
streams that fall into Lake St. Clair and th
Thames. These streams are deep and mud
dy and are unfordable for a considerable di
tance into the country. A lieutenant of dra
goons and thirty privates, who had been sen
back by general Proctor, to destroy the bridg
es, were made prisoners near the mouth of th
Thames; from them the general learnt th
the enemy had no certain information of o
advance.

The baggage of the army was brought fro
Detroit in boats, protected by a part of com
modore Perry's squadron. In the evening th
army arrived at Drake's farm, eight mil
from the mouth of the Thames and encamp
This river is a fine deep stream, navigable f
vessels of considerable burthen, after the p
sage of the bar at its mouth, over which th
is generally seven feet water. The gun bo
could ascend as far as Dalson's, below wh
the country is one continued prarie, and
once favorable for cavalry movements and
the co-operation of the gun boats. Abo
Dalson's the aspect of the country chang

the river, though still deep, is not more than seventy yards wide, and its banks high and woody.

At Chatham, four miles from Dalson's and sixteen from lake St. Clair, is a small deep creek, where we found the bridge taken up and the enemy disposed to dispute our passage, and upon the arrival of the advanced guard, commenced a heavy fire from the opposite bank as well as a flank fire from the right bank of the river. The army halted and formed in order of battle. The bridge was repaired under the cover of a fire from two six pounders. The Indians did not relish the fire of our cannon and retired. Col. Johnson being on the right, had seized the remains of a bridge at M'Gregor's mills, under a heavy fire from the Indians. He lost on this occasion, two killed and four wounded. The enemy set fire to a house near the bridge containing a considerable quantity of muskets; the flames were extinguished and the arms saved. At the first farm above the bridge we found one of the enemy's vessels on fire, loaded with arms and ordnance stores. Four miles higher up, the army took a position for the night—here we found two other vessels and a large distillery filled with ordnance and other stores to an immense amount, in flames. Two 24 pounders, with their carriages, were taken, and a large quantity of ball and shells of various sizes.

The army was put in motion early on the morning of the 5th. The gen. accompanied col. Johnson—Gov. Shelby followed with the infantry. This morning we captured two gun boats and several batteaux loaded with provisions and ammunition. At nine we had reached Arnold's mills, where there is a fording place, and the only one for a considerable distance. Here the army crossed the right bank—the mounted regiment fording, and the infantry in the captured boats. The passage, though retarded for want of a sufficient number of boats, was completed by twelve.

Eight miles above the ford, we passed the ground where the British force had encamped the night before. The general directed the advance of col. Johnson's regiment to accelerate their march, for the purpose of ascertaining the distance of the enemy. The officer commanding it, shortly after, sent word back that his progress was stoped by the enemy, who were formed across our line of march.

The army was now within three miles of the Moravian town, and within one mile of the enemy. The road passes through a beach forest without any clearing, and for the first two miles near to the bank of the river. At the distance of fifty rods from the river is a swamp running parallel to it, and extending all the way to the Indian village. The intermediate ground is dry; the surface level; the trees are lofty and thick, with very little

underwood to impede the progress of man or horse, if we except that part which borders on the swamp.

Across this narrow strip of land, the British force was drawn up in a line of battle, to prevent our advance. Their left resting on the river, was defended by four pieces of cannon—near the centre were two other pieces. Near the swamp the British line was covered by a large Indian force, who also lined the margin of the swamp to a considerable distance. The British troops amounted to 600—the Indians probably to 1200.

As it was not practicable to turn the enemy in flank, it became necessary to attack them in front. General Harrison did not long hesitate in his choice of the mode of attack. It was as novel as it was successful.

The troops at his disposal might amount to 3000 men; yet, from the peculiar nature of the ground, not the half of this force could advantageously engage the enemy.

About 150 regulars, under col. Paul occupied the narrow space between the road and river; they were ordered to advance and amuse the enemy; and, if an opportunity offered to seize the cannon of the enemy. A small party of friendly Indians, were directed to move under the bank. Col. Johnson's re-

giment was drawn up in close column, with its right at a few yards distant from the road, with orders to charge at full speed as soon as the enemy delivered his fire. The Kentucky volunteers under major general Henry, were formed in the rear of the mounted regiment, in three lines extending from the road to the swamp. Gen Desha's division covered the left of Johnson's regiment. Gov. Shelby was at the *crochet* formed by the front line and gen. Desha's division. This was an important point. General Cass and commodore Perry, volunteered as aids to general Harrison, who placed himself at the head of the front line of infantry, to direct the movements of the cavalry, and to give them the necessary support. Such was the order of battle.

The army moved in this order till the mounted men received the fire of the enemy, at the distance of 200 yards. The charge was beat, in an instant 1000 horse were in motion at full speed—the right led on by lieutenat col. James Johnson broke through the British lines and formed in their rear, the enemy's pieces were unloaded—their bayonets were not fixed—they surrendered at discretion—the whole was the work of a minute. In breaking through their ranks our men killed twelve and wounded 37 of the British regulars. The shock was unexpected. They were not prepared to resist it, some were trampled under the feet of our horses; others

were cut down by the soldiers; very few were shot by our men, for our fire was not general. Had the enemy shown the least symptoms of resistance, after we broke through their lines, the greater part would have been destroyed, but they were as passive as sheep. Never was terror more strongly depicted on the countenances of men. Even the officers were seen with uplifted hands, exclaiming "quarters!" There is no doubt, that they expected to be massacred, believing that the Kentukians would retaliate the bloody scenes of Raisin and Miami; but nothing was farther from their intentions, except it should be on the persons of Proctor and Elliot—these neither the authority of Harrison nor of Shelby could have saved, if they had been found in battle.

On the left the contest was more serious. col. Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment received a terrible fire from the Indians which was kept up for some time.—The Colonel most gallantly led the head of his column into the hottest of the enemy's fire, and was personally opposed to Tecumseh.—At this point a condensed mass of savages had collected. Yet regardless of danger, he rushed into the midst of them, so thick were the Indians at this moment, that several might have reached him with their rifles. He rode a white horse and was known to be an officer of rank; a shower of balls was dischar-

ged at him—some took effect—his horse was shot under him—his clothes, his Saddle, his person was pierced with bullets. At the moment his horse fell, Tecumseh rushed towards him with an uplifted tomahawk, to give the fatal stroke, but his presence of mind did not forsake him in this perilous predicament---he drew a pistol from his holster and laid his daring opponent dead at his feet. He was unable to do more, the loss of blood deprived him of strength to stand. Fortunately, at the moment of Tecumseh's fall the enemy gave way, which secured him from the reach of their tomahawks; he was wounded in five places; he received three shots in the right thigh and two in the left arm. Six Americans and twenty two Indians fell within twenty yards of the spot where Tecumseh was killed and the trains of blood almost covered the ground.

The Indians continued a brisk fire from the margin of the swamp and made some impression on a line of Kentucky volunteers, but gov. Shelby brought up a regiment to its support---their fire soon became too warm for the enemy. A part of Johnson's men having gained the rear of a part of the Indian line the route became general. A small part of the Indians attempted to gain the village by running up the narrow strip of dry land; they were soon overtaken and cut down. The Indians fought bravely and sustained a severe

loss in killed and wounded. The death of Tecumseh was to them an irreparable loss.

The American army had fifteen killed and thirty wounded. Among the slain was col. Whitley, of the Kentucky volunteers, a man of 70 years of age, and a soldier of the revolution. He was in easy circumstances at home, and possessed an excellent character.

Among the trophies of the day were six brass field pieces, which had been surrendered by Hull---I read on two of them this pleasing motto: "*Surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga.*"

The day after the battle a part of the army took possession of the Moravian town, where we found most kinds of vegetables in abundance---these were acceptable to men who had for several days subsisted on fresh beef, without bread or salt. We found plenty of green corn; the fields were extensive and our horses had an excellent range.

The town was deserted; so panic struck were some of the women in their flight, that they are said to have thrown their children into the Thames, to prevent their being butchered by the Americans!*

* I had this fact from an American gentleman, who was at Oxford,

This village is situated on the right bank of the Thames, about forty miles from its entrance into Lake St. Clair. The town was built by emigrants from Muskingum, and contained at the time of the battle nearly 100 houses, mostly well built. The Rev. John Scoll, from Bethlehem, (Penn.) was established here as a missionary. Many of the inhabitants speak English—there was a school house and a chapel. The gardens were luxuriant and cultivated with taste.

The town was destroyed as well as the corn-fields in its vicinity, by the troops previous to their leaving it. Among other reasons assigned to justify the measure, it was alledged that these Indians had been among the foremost in massacreing our men at the river Raisin, and that the town, if it was spared, would afford a convenient shelter for the British allies during the winter, and from which they could easily pass into the Michigan territory to rob and murder the inhabitants.

I have yet to learn, that it is either good policy or justice, for the American troops, in every instance, to burn the Indian towns that fall into their power. Are the Indians to be reclaimed by fire ?

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when Proctor and the Indians passed through there, on their way to Burlington heights. The Squaws were then lamenting the loss of their children.

General Proctor abandoned his army at the very moment Johnson's regiment beat the charge. About forty dragoons accompanied him as a guard. In twenty four hours he was sixty five miles from the Moravian town. A few of the mounted men pursued him and at one time were within one hundred yards of him, but they were too weak to attack his guard. His carriage and papers were taken.

Three waggons loaded with specie escaped, but might have been overtaken, if proper measures had been taken to pursue the fugitives. A depot of 300 barrels of flour was within a days march of the Moravian town.

Why the army of general Harrison did not march by land to fort George, and by the way of Burlington heights, instead of going by water, is best known to himself.

The distance from the Moravian town to the head of lake Ontario, is 140 miles. The road leaves the Thames at the Indian town, and strikes it again at Delaware, twenty five miles distant, where it crosses, passes thro' London, Oxford, &c. and crosses Grand river, near the Mohawk village, pursuing a south-eastern direction. Between Moravian town and Delaware, the road is bad, the rest of the way good. In the township of Deleware is a valuable forest of pine, belonging to the crown. A little below this on the left bank of the

Thames, stands the Munsee Indian village. The land in this part of the Upper Province is uncommonly fertile, and admirably calculated for farms. On the river there are extensive bottoms—then a gentle rise of beautiful timbered land, to which succeed openings well calculated for wheat.

Excepting the difference of sixty miles in the respective distances, it would have been as easy for the army to have advanced to Burlington heights as it was to return to Detroit. The means of subsistence, for man and horse, could have been procured in abundance. The troops, elated by the victory of the 5th, would have cheerfully gone on any expedition, conducted by Harrison, and accompanied by such men as Shelby, Cass and Perry. Unfortunately this measure was not embraced in the plans of the campaign. How much would have been gained—(how much misery to our own citizens prevented) the recent occurrences on the Niagara frontier sufficiently indicate.

The army returned to Detroit. Capt. Elliot, of the Niagara, volunteered his services to command a naval expedition against Michilimackinac and fort St. Joseph; but the weather proving unfavorable for a number of days, the season became too far advanced to risk the squadron on lake Huron, till spring.

While general Harrison was pursuing Proctor up the Thames, the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottowattomies, Miamies and Kikapoos, proposed to gen. M'Arthur, a suspension of hostilities, and agreed to "take hold of the same tomahawk with the Americans and to strike all who are, or may be enemies of the United States, whether British or Indians." They brought in their women and children and offered them as hostages for their good behavior.

Lieut. Le Breton arrived at Detroit on the 15th, bearing a flag, and a letter from general Proctor to gen. Harrison. This letter requested humane treatment to the prisoners, and a restoration of certain property and papers taken on the 5th. As the letter was addressed to the general "at Moravian towns," he saw no reason for Le Breton's journey to Detroit, and ordered him to join gen. Proctor by the way of Buffalo and fort George.

After the return of the commander in chief to Detroit, Walk-in-the-Water, who had been in the battle of the Thames, came in to implore peace. When he crossed from Sandwich, the white flag which he bore in his hand had attracted a great crowd to the wharf, all anxious to get a near view of the distinguished chief. I was struck with admiration at the firmness and apparent nonchalance with which he ascended the bank and passed through

the ranks of the Kentucky volunteers, whom he had so gallantly opposed in battle but a few days before. I never saw more real dignity of carriage, or a more striking firmness of countenance. Yet his situation was calculated to depress his spirits and produce humility. His town was in the power of the Americans—the British were all taken; the Indians had just suffered a signal defeat—almost all the other chiefs had submitted—he was without the means of living or resistance; still his maaner was that of a conqueror.

Gov. Shelby's corps and the twelve month's volunteers, were all honorably discharged. Travelling became safe, and business at Detroit began to assume its wonted course, but the *price current* of the territory was exorbitant for every thing to eat, drink or wear. Whisky sold at $4 a gallon—beef at 24 cents a pound—cheese 60 do.—butter 75 do.—potatoes $2 a bushel. The army was well supplied with rations, as were also about 300 of the Inhabitants of Michigan, and about 2000 Indians, men, women and children, who had no other means of subsistance. Adventurers soon came on with a sufficient supply of dry goods.

On the 23d of October, general Harrison with all his disposable regular troops, embarked on board the fleet and sailed for Buffalo, in obedience to orders from the secretary of

war. Previous to his departure, he appointed general Cass provisional governor of Michigan territory—the civil ordinances, as they stood at Hull's surrender, were proclaimed in force. Gen. Cass was left with about one thousand men, not more than seven hundred of whom were effective. The men were industriously employed in preparing winter quarters at the fort. The Scorpion and Ohio schooners were engaged in transporting supplies from Erie and Cleveland, for the troops during winter. Troops were stationed at Malden and Sandwich.—The campaign closed.

General Harrison has been charged with conducting war on the *Fabian* plan—with unnecessary delay in his military movements—with bad generalship at fort Meigs—with timidity at Sandusky.

It is not my purpose to "*extenuate*" the faults of general Harrison; but justice should be the moral aim of every writer. It must be confessed, that the capture of Malden and the recovery of Detroit were not so speedily accomplished as the public impatience had anticipated. But there were great natural obstacles to be overcome—a numerous train of artillery was to be transported through an extensive wilderness, where there were neither roads, bridges or ferries. There was an immense line of frontier to cover and defend.

There was a powerful and active foe to combat. The enemy controuled the navigation of the lake—they may be said to have commanded the woods, because it was at all times in their power to intercept and cut off supplies. There was a British regular force of at least one thousand men, supported at all times by a respectable militia force, rendered loyal by the conduct of Hull; besides, the British general could command the services of three thousand Indian warriors, of a ferocious and desperate character. The enemy, then, could embody at any given point five thousand effective troops. Malden and Detroit were strong military posts, defended by a suitable number of guns. In the summer season a naval force could co-operate with great effect.

The disaster at the river Raisin rendered the first campaign abortive. From the defeat of Winchester, till the victory of Com. Perry, the enemy had at all times a *numerical* superiority, as well as great local advantages. Another consideration—the troops composing the north western army, were for the most part, detached or volunteer militia, whose term of service, after the first six months, were continually expiring, and whose places were to be supplied by fresh drafts or volunteers. Whenever the general saw a favorable moment for consummating his views and the wishes of the nation, it was lost; because an

important corps of his army might leave him when their services were most wanted. After governor Shelby joined him, he was in a condition to "look down all opposition"—that he well improved his time, is abundantly proven, I think, by the fact, that but *ten* days intervened between the departure of the army from Put in-Bay, till the capture of Proctor's army and the defeat of the Indians. In this march 6 bridges were repaired—one thousand horses ferried over the Detroit river, and one day lost on the lake by head winds. Does this look like a *Fabian* movement?

Of his generalship at fort Meigs, different opinions are entertained. Pehaps, knowing as he did, the impetuous and ungovernable nature of the Kentucky militia, he erred in trusting to their execution, so difficult and hazardous a piece of service as was confided to col. Dudley.

That the fort was defended not only in a *military*, but in a *glorious* manner, the works bear ample testimony. The picketing was every where pierced by the enemy's shot. The general was always exposed, and never betrayed the least solicitude for his personal safety. The defence was as obstinate as that of Genoa, by Messena; and there is no doubt that the garrison, like the French, would have eaten their horses, had the state of their provisions rendered such a measure necessary.

Respecting the charge of *timidity* at Sandusky, it may be proper to observe that gen. Harrison was probably able to defeat, if not to capture Proctor's force, after it had been weakened by its losses at fort Stephenson. But there was a contingency that might justify a prudent general in declining a contest. Tecumseh, with 2000 warriors, was known to be on the alert and not far distant. In case Harrison had advanced upon Proctor and Dixon, and had given them battle, his camp, containing the sick and stores of the army, would have been liable to pillage. Tecumseh could have easily thrown himself into Harrison's rear, or have co-operated with Proctor whose combined force would have been too strong for the Americans. The general, to be sure, *might* have acquired glory in defeating the enemy, and he *might* have been defeated himself. The nation has loudly applauded Croghan for his heroic defence of fort Stephenson. Why? Because we are astonished to behold a small fort, garrisoned by one hundred and thirty eight men, defended against two thousand. Suppose the place had been taken, would it have excited our surprize? No, we should most certainly have censured Croghan for his rashness. By delay the general was certain to attain his purpose; he knew that when Shelby's corps and an additional number of regulars should join him, he would be superior to the enemy; and he would

also have the co-operation of commodore Perry. Events have fully justified his expectations. He has accomplished his purpose without hazarding any thing. It were well for the country, if our other commanders had done as much.

A Minute and Interesting Account of the

Naval Conflict on

LAKE ERIE.

Commodore Perry arrived at Erie in June, with five small vessels from Black Rock.—The Queen Charlotte and Lady Prevost, were crusing off Long Point to intercept him—he passed them in the night unperceived. The Lawrence and Niagara were then on the stocks—every exertion was made to expedite their building and equipment, and early in August they were ready to sail. But it was necessary to pass the bar at the entrance of the harbor, over which there was but six feet water, and the brigs drew nine. The British fleet appeared off the harbor, for the purpose of preventing our's from going to *lake!*—The means employed by our officers to take the brigs over the bar, were ingenious and deserve mention. Two large scows fifty feet long, ten feet wide and eight feet deep, were prepared—they were first filled with water and then floated along side one of the vessels in a parallel direction; they were then secured by means of large pieces of hewn timber placed athwart ship, with both ends projecting from the port holes across the scows; the space

between these timbers and the boat, being secured by other pieces properly arranged; the water was then bailed from the scows, thereby giving them astonishing lifting power. It was thus that the bar was passed, before the enemy had taken the proper steps to oppose it. One obstacle was surmounted, but the fleet was not in a condition to seek the enemy at Malden. There were not at this time more than half sailors enough to man the fleet. However, a number of Pennsylvania militia having volunteered their services, the commodore made a short cruize off Long Point, more perhaps, for the purpose of exercising his men than seeking the enemy.

About the last of August commodore Perry left Erie, to co-operate with gen. Harrison in the reduction of Malden. He anchored off the mouth of Sandusky river, and had an interview with gen. Harrison, who furnished him with about seventy volunteers, principally Kentuckians, to serve as marines on board the fleet. Capt. Dobbin in the Ohio, was ordered to return to Erie for provisions. The Amelia had been left there for want of men to man her. Exclusive of these he had nine sail mounting in all fifty four guns. The British fleet at Malden, consisted of six sail, and mounted sixty six guns.

Com. Perry appeared before Malden, offered battle, reconnoitered the enemy and

retired to Put-in-Bay, thirty five miles distant from his antagonist. Both parties remained a few days inactive; but their repose was that of the lion.

On the morning of the 10th of September, at sunrise, the enemy were discovered bearing down from Malden for the evident purpose of attacking our squadron, then at anchor in Put-in-Bay. Not a momet was to be lost. Our squadron immediately got under way and stood out to meet the British fleet, which at this time had the weather gage. At 10 A. M. the wind shifted from S. W. to S. E. which brought our squadron to windward. The wind was light, the day beautiful—not a cloud obscured the horizon. The line was formed at 11, and com. Perry caused an elegant flag, which he had privately prepared, to be hoisted at the mast head of the Lawrence; on this flag was painted in characters legible to the whole fleet, the dying words of the immortal LAWRENCE:—"DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP." Its effect is not to be described—every heart was electrified. The crews cheered—the exhilerating can was passed. Both fleets appeared eager for the conflict, on the result of which so much depended. At 15 minutes before 12, the Detroit, the head most ship of the enemy, opened upon the Lawrence, which for ten minutes was obliged to sustain a well directed and heavy fire from the enemy's two large ships, without being able to return it

with carronades, at five minutes before twelve the Lawrence opened upon the enemy—the other vessels were ordered to support her, but the wind was at this time too light to enable them to come up. Every brace and bowline of the Lawrence being soon shot away, she became unmanageable, and in this situation sustained the action upwards of two hours, within canister distance, until every gun was rendered useless, and but a small part of her crew left unhurt upon deck.

At half past two the wind increased and enabled the Niagara to come into close action—the gun boats took a nearer position. Com. Perry left his ship in charge of Lt. Yarnel, and went on board the Niagara. Just as he reached that vessel, the flag of the Lawrence came down; the crisis had arrived. Capt. Elliot at this moment anticipated the wishes of the commodore, by volunteering his services to bring the schooners into close action.

At forty five minutes past two, the signal was made for close action. The Niagara being very little injured, and her crew fresh, the commodore determined to pass through the enemy's line; he accordingly bore up and passed ahead of the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Lady Prevost, pouring a terrible raking fire into them from the starboard guns, and on the Chippeway and Little Belt, from the larboard side, at half pistol shot distance. The

small vessels at this time having got within grape and canister distance, kept up a well directed and destructive fire. The action now raged with the greatest fury—the Queen Charlotte, having lost her commander and several of her principal officers, in a moment of confusion got foul of the Dotroit—in this situation the enemy in their turn had to sustain a tremenduous fire without the power of returning it with much effect; the carnage was horrible—the flags of the Detroit, Queen Charlotte and Lady Prevost were struck in rapid succession. The brig Hunter and schooner Chippeway, were soon compelled to follow the example. The Little Belt attempted to escape to Malden, but she was pursued by two of the gun boats and surrendered about three miles distant from the scene of action.

The writer of this account, in company with five others, arrived at the head of Put-in-Bay island on the evening of the 9th, and had a view of the action at the distance of only ten miles. The spectacle was truly grand and awful. The firing was incessant for the space of three hours, and continued at short intervals forty five minutes longer. In less than one hour after the battle began, most of the vessels of both fleets were enveloped in a cloud of smoak, which rendered the issue of the action uncertain, till the next morning when we visited the fleet in the harbor on the opposite side of the island. The reader will

easily judge of our solicitude to learn the result. There is no sentiment more painful than suspense, when it is excited by the uncertain issue of an event like this.

If the wind had continued at S. W. it was the intention of admiral Barclay to have boarded our squadron; for this purpose he had taken on board his fleet about 200 of the famous 41st regiment; they acted as marines and fought bravely, but nearly two thirds of them were either killed or wounded.

The carnage on board the prizes was prodigious—they must have lost 200 in killed besides wounded. The sides of the Detroit and Queen Charlotte were shattered from bow to stern; there was scarcely room to place one's hand on their larboard sides without touching the impression of a shot—a great many balls, canister and grape, were found lodged in their bulwarks, which were too thick to be penetrated by our carronades, unless within pistol shot distance. Their masts were so much shattered that they fell overboard soon after they got into the bay.

The loss of the Americans was severe, particularly on board the Lawrence. When her flag was struck she had but nine men fit for duty remaining on deck. Her sides were completely riddled by the shot from the long guns of the British ships. Her deck the

morning after the conflict, when I first went on board, exhibited a scene that defies description—for it was litterally covered with blood, which still adhered to the plank in clots—brains, hair and fragments of bones were still sticking to the rigging and sides. The surgeons were still busy with the wounded—enough! horror appalled my senses.

Among the wounded were several brave fellows, each of whom had lost a leg or an arm, they appeared cheerful and expressed a hope that they had done their duty. Rome and Sparta would have been proud of these heroes.

It would be invidious to particularize instances of individual merit, where every one so nobly performed his part. Of the nine seamen remaining unhurt at the time the Lawrence struck her flag, five were immediately promoted for their unshaken firmness in such a trying situation. The most of these had been in the actions with the Guerriere and Java.

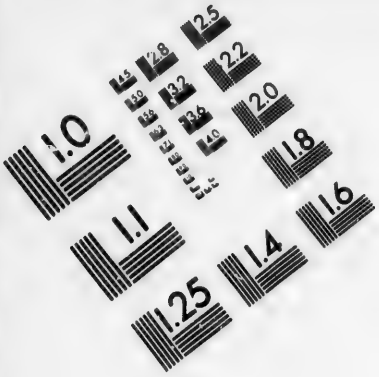
Every officer of the Lawrence, except the commodore and his little brother, a promising youth, 13 years old, were either killed or wounded, a list of whose names are given at the close of the account.

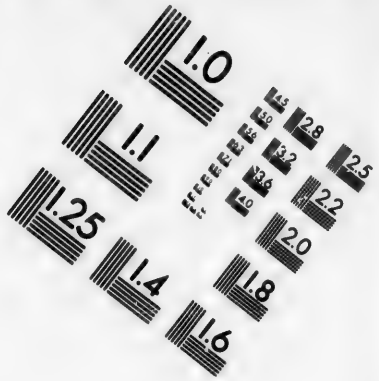
The efficacy of the gun boats was fully pro

ved in this action, and the sterns of all the prizes bear ample testimony of the fact. They took raking positions and galled the enemy severely. The Lady Prevost lost twelve men before either of the brigs fired on her. Their fire was quick and precise. Let us hear the enemy. The general order of Adjutant Gen. Baynes, contains the following words: "His [Perry's] numerous gun boats, [four] which had proved the greatest annoyance during the action, were all uninjured."

The undaunted bravery of admiral Barclay entitled him to a better fate; to the loss of the day was superadded grevious and dangerous wounds; he had before lost an arm; it was now his hard fortune to lose the use of the other, by a shot which carried away the blade of the right shoulder; a canister shot made a violent contusion in his hip: his wounds were for some days considered mortal. Every possible attention was paid to his situation. When Commodore Perry sailed for Buffalo, he was so far recovered that he took passage on board our fleet. The fleet touched at Erie. The citizens saw the affecting spectacle of Harrison and Perry leading the wounded British Hero, still unable to walk without help, from the beach to their lodgings.

On board the Detroit, twenty four hours after her surrender, were found snugly stowed away in the hold, two Indian Chiefs, who had





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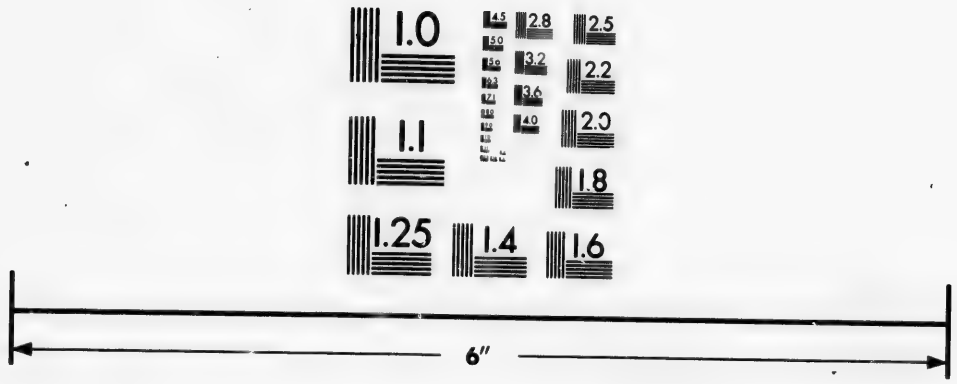

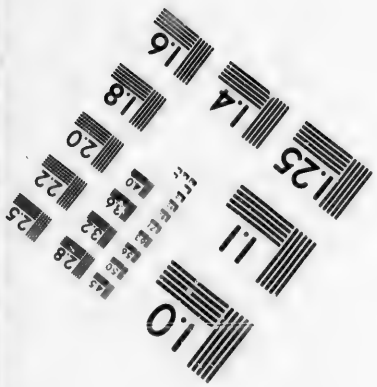

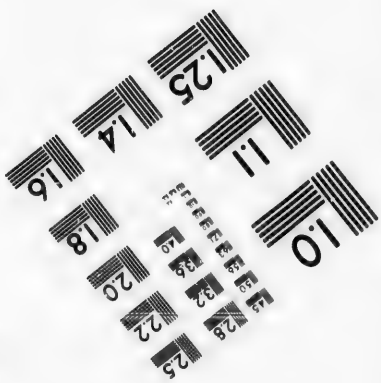

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the courage to go on board at Malden, for the purpose of acting as sharp shooters to kill our officers. One had the courage to ascend into the round top and discharge his piece, but the whizzing of shot, splinters, and bits of rigging, soon made the place too warm for him—he descended faster than he went up; at the moment he reached the deck, the fragments of a seaman's head struck his comrad's face, and covered it with blood and brains. He vociferated the savage interjection "*quoh!*" and both sought safety below.

The British officers had domesticated a *bear* at Malden. *Bruin* accompanied his *comrades* to battle—was on the deck of the Detroit during the engagement, and escaped unhurt.

The killed of both fleets were thrown overboard as fast as they fell. Several were washed ashore upon the island and the main during the gales that succeeded the action.

Com. Perry treated the prisoners with humanity and indulgence; several Canadians, having wives at malden, were permitted to visit their families on parole.

The British were superior in the *length* and *number* of their guns, as well as in the number of men. The American fleet was manned with a motly set of beings, Europeans, Africans, Americans from every part of the Uni-

ted States. Full one fourth were *blacks*. I saw one *Russian*, who could not speak a word of English. They were brave—and who could be otherwise under the command of Perry?

The day after the battle, the funeral obsequies of the American and British officers who had fallen in the action were performed, in an appropriate and affecting manner. An opening on the margin of the bay was selected for the interment of the bodies. The crews of both fleets attended. The weather was fine—the elements seemed to participate in the solemnities of the day, for every breeze was hushed and not a wave ruffled the surface of the water. The procession of boats—the neat appearance of the officers and men—the music—the slow and regular motion of the oars, striking in exact time with the notes of solemn dirge—the mournful waving of the flags—the sound of the minute guns from the different ships in the harbor—the wild and solitary aspect of the place—the stillness of nature, gave to the scene an air of melancholy grandeur, better felt than described—all acknowledged its influence—all were sensibly affected. What a contrast did it exhibit to the terrible conflict the preceding day! Then the people of the two squadrons were engaged in the deadly strife of arms. Now they associated like brothers, to pay the last sad tribute of respect to the dead of both nations.

Five officers were interred, two American and three British. Lt. Brooks and midshipman Laub of the Lawrence ; capt. Finnis and Lt. Stokoe of the Queen Charlotte, and lieut. Garland of the Detroit. The graves are but a few paces from the beach, and the future traveller of either nation, will find no memento whereby he may distinguish the American from the British hero.

The *marines* of our fleet were highly complimented by the commodore, for their good conduct ; although it was the first time the most of them had seen a square rigged vessel, being fresh from Harrison's army. The Kentuckians proved, on this occason, as has the commodore since, that they can fight on both elements.

Capt. Elliot certainly deserves great praise for his bravery, it is to be regretted, however, that he overacted his part. When he went on board the Scorpion to order her to take a nearer position to the enemy, he ordered captain Almy below, and struck several of the men in their faces with his speaking trumpet, by which means he gave them much pain and indelible scars, without accelerating a moment, her motion or her fire. Such freaks of passion and tyranny must be exposed however painful the task. The Scorpian had been well fought, and neither her captain or crew deserved the treatment they received. After

the action, commodore Perry offered captain Almy the command of the Lady Prevost, but he declined the honor, and requested that a court martial might decide on his guilt or innocence.

Captain Turner of the Caledonian, signalized himself—he brought his ship into action in an able manner, and contributed, no doubt, his full share towards the success of the day. He is an officer of courage and skill; but the manner in which he treats his men, detracts much from his merit as a naval commander. Where *humanity* is wanting all other virtues shine with diminished lustre. The men who fought so gloriously on the ever memorable 10th of september,—who risked their lives and received honorable wounds—who generously volunteered their services, and whose heroism will be celebrated through distant ages, ought not to be *flogged*, cruelly flogged like dogs, for trivial, or rather for no offence at all. Men whose services are greater than the national gratitude or recompense can requite, ought not to languish in sickness—to sink in death without one effort to save them—without the least attention to alleviate their sufferings.

The following pertinent motto has excited unbounded enthusiasm: "*Free trade and Sailor's rights.*" Let then the "*rights*" of the "*Sailor*" be respected, as well by our own

officers as those of the enemy. It is something worse than folly to talk of "*Sailor's rights*," while *our* naval officers are permitted to flog, beat, and otherwise maltreat their men. The officers acquire their glory, in most cases, at the expense of the lives and the blood of their men. How great then the obligation to treat them with kindness and humanity! But it may be objected that a lenient system of discipline will not answer for the naval service—that we must imitate the British in severity. Nothing is more falacious, I will only cite one case to prove my position: the crew of the Essex are as obedient to command as that of any ship in the navy; yet the gallant capt. Porter, who is as *humane* as he is brave, never inflicts corporal punishment. If the limits of this work permitted, I could give *facts*, *names* and *circumstances* that would astonish the reader and excite his indignation.

Statement of the force of the British Squa[dron] on

Ship Detroit	19 guns	1 on pivot and 2 howitzers.
Queen Charlotte	17 do.	1 do.
Schr. Lady Prevost	13 do.	1 do.
Brig Hunter	10 do.	
Sloop Little Belt	3 do.	
Schr. Chippeway	1 do.	and 2 swivels.
	63 guns.	

Statement of the force of the United States Squadron.

Brig Lawrence	20 guns
Niagara	20 do.
Caledonia	3 do.
Schr. Ariel	4 do. (1 burst early in the action.)
Scorpion	2 do.
Somers	2 do. and 2 swivels
Sloop Trippe	1 do.
Schr. Tigress	1 do.
Porcupine	1 do.
	54 guns.

List of Killed and wounded on board the United States squadron under the command of O. H. PERRY, Esq. in the action of the 10th September, 1813, viz :

On board the Lawrence,

KILLED.

John Brooks, Lieutenant Marines,
Henry Laub, Midshipman,
Christian Mayhew, Qr. Master,
James W. Allen, seamen,
Joseph Kenedy, do.
John C. Kelly, private in the——Regt.
John Smith seaman,
William Craston, o. s.
Andrew Michael, seaman,
John Hoffman, o. seaman,

Charles Pohig, seaman,
Nelson Peters, seaman,
James Jones, do.
John Rose, do.
James Carty, sail maker's mate,
Thomas Butler, seaman,
Wilson Mays, carpenter's mate,
James Brown seaman,
Ethelred Sykes, landsman,
Philip Starpley, corporal marines,
Jesse Harland private,
Abner Williams, do.——22

WOUNDED.

John J. Yarnall, 1st lieut. slightly,
Dulaney Ferrest, 2d do. do.
Wm. N. Taylor, sailing master do.
Samuel Hambleton, purser, severely,
Thomas Claxton, midshipman, do. since dead.
Augustus Swartwout, do. do.
Jonas Stone, carpenter, slightly.
Wm. C. Keen, master at arms, slightly,
Francis Mason, qr. master, severely,
John Newen, qr. master, do.
Joseph Lewis, qr. master slightly,
Ezekiel Fowler, do. do. do.
John E. Brown, qr. gunner severely,
Wm. Johnson, boatswain's mate, severely,
James Helan do. slightly,
George Cornell, carpenter's mate, slightly,
Thomas Hammond armourer, do.
Wm. Thompson, seaman, severely,
George Varnum, do. do.
James Moses, do. do.

William Roe,	do.	do.
Joseph Denning,	do.	do.
William Daring,	do.	do.
John Clay,	do.	do.
Stephen Fairfield,	do.	do.
George Williams,	do.	do.
Lannon Huse,	do.	do.
James Waddington,	do.	do.
John Burdeen,	do.	do.
John Burnham,	do.	do.
Andrew Mattison,	do.	do.
Jeremiah Easterbrooke,	o. s.	do.
Henry Schroeder,	do.	do.
Benoni Price,	do.	do.
Thomas Robinson,	do.	do.
Peter Kinsley,	do.	do.
Nathan Chapman,	do.	do.
Thomas Hill,	do.	do.
Barney McClair,	do.	do.
William Dawson,	s.	do.
Westerly Johnson,	o. s.	do.
Samuel Spywood,	do.	do.
Robert Hill,	s.	slightly,
Francis Cummings,	o. s.	severely,
Thomas Reed,	do.	do.
Charles Vandyke,	do.	do.
William Simpson,	do.	do.
Jesse Williams,	do.	do.
James Hardley,	do.	slightly,
James Bird,	marine	severely,
Wm. Burnett,	do.	do.
Wm. Baggs,	do.	do.
David Christie,	do.	do.

Henry Vanpoole,	do.	do.	
Thomas Triff,	landsman	do.	
Elijah Partin,	do.	do.	
John Adams,	do.	do.	
Charles Harrington,	do.	do.	
Wm. B. Perkins,	do.	do.	
Nathaniel Wade,	boy,	severely,	
Newport Hazzard	do.	slightly———	61

[On the morning of the action the sick list of the Lawrence, contained 31 unfit for duty.]

On board the Niagara,

KILLED.

Peter Morel, seaman,
Isaac Hordy, o. s.—2.

WOUNDED.

John J. Edwards, lieutenant,
John C. Cummings, midshipman,
Edward Martin, seamen,
Wm. Davis, o. s. } since dead.
Joshua Trapnill marine,
Ronvell Hall, o. s.
George Platt, s.
Elias Wiley, o. s.
Henry Davidson, s.
John M. Stribuck, o. s.
John Freemen, o. s.
James Lansford, s.
Thomas Wilson, s.
Charles davidson, s.
Daniel Bennet, s.
John Filton, boatswain's mate,
Sergeant Mason, marine,

Corporal Scott, marine,
Thomas Miller, marine,
John Rumas, marine,
George M'Manomy, marine,
George Scoffield, marine,
Samuel Cochran, marine.—25

On board the Caledonia,
WOUNDED.
James Artus slightly,
Isaac Perkins, slightly,
James Philips, slightly.

On board the Somers,
WOUNDED.
Charles Ordeen, Godfrey Bowman.

On board the Ariel,
KILLED.
John White, boatswain's mate.
WOUNDED.
William Sloss, o. s. slightly.
Robert Wilson, s. do.
John Lucas, landsman, do.

On board the Trippe.
WOUNDED.
Isaac Green, soldier, 26th regt. badley,
John Niles, soldier 17th regt. slightly.

On board the *Porcupine*, none killed or wounded.

On board the Scorpian.
KILLED.
John Clark, midshipman,
John Sylhamamer, landsman.

On board the *Tigress*, none killed or wounded.

Recapitulation.

(Two days previous to the action, fifty seven men unfit for service in the small vessels.)

	Killed,	*Wounded,*	*Total.*
Lawrence,	22	61	83
Niagara,	2	25	27
Caledonia		3	3
Somers,		2	2
Ariel,	1	3	4
Trippe,		2	2
Scorpian,	2		2
	27	96	123

Military Anecdotes.

The celebrated aboriginal warrior, Tecumseh,* was in the 44th year of his age, when he fell at the battle of the Thames. He was of the Shawannoe tribe, five feet ten inches high, well formed for activity and the endurance of fatigue, which he was capable of sustaining in a very extraordinary degree. His carriage was erect and lofty—his motions quick—his eyes penetrating—his visage stern, with an air of hauteur in his countenance, which arose from an elevated pride of soul—it did not leave him even in death. His eloquence was nervous, concise, impressive, figurative and sarcastic, being of a tacitturn habit of speech, his words were few but always to the purpose. His dress was plain—he was never known to indulge in gaudy decoration of his person, which is the general practice of the Indians. He wore on the day of his death a dressed dearskin coat and pantaloons. It is said that he could read and write correctly; of this however, I am doubtful, as he was the irreconcilable enemy to civilization, of course would not be apt to relish our arts. He was

* Pronounced in Shawannoe, *Tecumthe*. There are many words in this language, which have the linguadental found of *th*, such as Chillicothe, Sciothie, &c.

in every respect a *Savage*, the greatest perhaps, since the days of Pontiac. His ruling maxim in war, was, to take no prisoners, and he strictly adhered to the sanguinary purposes of his soul—he neither gave nor accepted quarters. Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, to the prisoners made by the other tribes, he was attentive and humane. Nay, in one instance, he is said to have buried his tomahawk in the head of a Chippeway chief, whom he found actively engaged in massacreing some of Dudley's men, after they had been made prisoners by the British and Indians. It had long been a favorite project of this aspiring chief to unite the northern, western and southern Indians for the purpose of regaining their country as far as the Ohio. Whether this grand idea originated in his own, or his brother's mind, or was suggested by the British, is not known—but this much is certain, he cherished the plan with enthusiasm, and actually visited the Creek Indians, to prevail on them to join in the undertaking. He was always opposed to the sale of the Indian lands. —In a council at Vincennes, in 1810, he was found equal to the insidious arts of a diplomatist. In one of his speeches he pronounced general Harrison a liar. He has been in almost every battle with the Americans from the time of Harmers defeat to that of the Thames. He has been several times wounded, and always sought the hottest of the fire. A few minutes before he received the fatal

fire of col. Johnson, he had received a musket ball in his left arm, yet his efforts to conquer ceased only with life. When a youth, and before the treaty of Greenville, he had so often signalized himself, that he was reputed one of the boldest of the Indian warriors. In the first settlement of Kentucky, he was peculiarly active in seizing boats going down the Ohio, killing the passengers and carrying off their property. He made frequent incursions into Kentucky, where he would invariably murder some of the settlers and escape with several horses laden with plunder. He always eluded pursuit and when too closely pressed would retire to the Wabash. His ruling passion seems to have been glory—he was careless of wealth, and although his plunderings and subsidies must have amounted to a great sum, he persevered little for himself. After his fall on the 5th of October, his person was viewed with great interest by the officers and soldiers of Harrison's army. It was some time before the indentity of his person was sufficiently recognized to remove all doubt as to the certainty of his death. There was a kind of ferocious pleasure, if I may be allowed the expression, in contemplating the contour of his features, which was majestic even in death. Some of the Kentuckians disgraced themselves by committing indignities on his dead body. He was scalped and otherwise disfigured.

A hundred instances of the daring valor of

the Kentuckians might be cited. On our march from Malden to Sandwich, a volunteer in the flank guard, discovered an Indian at the distance of 200 yards, in the act of levelling his rifle at our men; he instantly left the ranks, made for the Indian and received his fire—the Indian retreated, but was closely pursued by the volunteer, who soon gained on his foe; he fired and brought him to the ground—but the Indian had previously re-loaded his piece, and in his turn fired on the volunteer who received the contents in his leg—he was at this time half a mile from his comrades—but did not retreat till he had dispatched the wounded Indian and secured his scalp, which he bore in triumph to his company. The danger of an ambush probably never occurred to his mind.

There were two sons of Lieut Col. James Johnson, in the battle of the Thames; the eldest but 16—the other 15 years of age.—Such was the ardor of these young Spartans that the officers had frequently to check their impetuosity. They were both mounted and often foremost in pursuit.

Capt. Ellison of the mounted men, received several rifle balls in his clothes and saddle—When we broke through the British ranks, a soldier of the 41st attempted to fix his bayonet—at one stroke of his sabre, captain Ellison severed his head and brought him to

the ground: a second made a show of resistance, and shared the same fate. Shortly afterwards the captain led his company against the Indians. It was then that his temerity had nearly cost him his life—an Indian seized the bridle of his horse and attempted a blow with his tomahawk. The sabre again prevailed, and the Indian lost his scalp.

At the assault of fort Stephenson, a boy of 14 years of age, in the heat of the fire, raised his arm above the pickets, in defiance of the enemy; a cannon ball struck it and tore it from his body, and the poor fellow survived but a few moments.

A soldier was at the same time severely wounded in the block house. Unable to stand, and weltering in blood, he desired a Lieutenant to reach him a gun, that he might fire on the enemy.

The sick of the garrison caught the spirit of their comrades, and actually crawled to the pickets, where they assisted to load the supernumerary pieces for the men to fire.

For the glorious defence of the place, the ladies of Chilicothe presented major Croghan with a sword. He thanked them in a becoming manner. He is no less conspicuous for modesty than courage. He signalized him-

self at Tippecanoe and fort Meigs. His promotion has been rapid, but gradual.

There are three other officers, who, equally with major Croghan, deserve praise for the part they took in the defence of the fort.—When the major asked them if they were willing to defend the fort, they unanimously answered "YES! we will perish sooner than surrender." The names of these brave men are capt. J. Hunter, lieut. Benj. Johnson, (nephew to col. R. M. Johnson) and ensign Shipp.—The zeal and industry of these men cannot be surpassed. I regret that I have not room to particularize more instances of their bravery and good conduct.

At the battle of Brownstown, an officer observed several Indian arrows to strike the ground near his feet, in a perpendicular direction. The circumstance excited his curiosity, and on looking up to discover from whence they came, he perceived an Indian perched on a tree thirty feet from the ground and but a few paces in advance—our men instantly levelled their pieces, and the fellow came tumbling down like a dead bear. He had provided himself with a fawn skin stuffed with arrows, many of which he had dexterously discharged at our troops.

There were several Indians in the battle of the Thames, who used bows and arrows—

one instance, one of our men was mortally wounded by an arrow.

At the skirmish near the mouth of the Thames, an Indian squaw was mortally wounded; she was left to shift for herself—her little girl, six years old, remained with her. On the return of the army from the Moravian town, they were found in the woods, at a distance of half a mile from where she was wounded; to appearance she had been dead three days—the girl was still living. When our men approached the spot, she instantly raised her hands and distinctly articulated "*dont!*" She was taken to Detroit, where her fate and sprightliness excited universal interest. An officer of governor Shelby's corps took her to Kentucky with the humane and honorable intention of adopting her in his family, and of giving her an education.

In the autumn of 1812, general Harrison left the army for a few weeks, and repaired to Chilicothe, on business. The citizens invited him to a public dinner; he declined the invitation, observing, very justly, that it did not become him to be banqueting at sumtuous entertainments, while his men were exposed to the rigors of the season, enduring the fatigues of military duty, and subsisting on the coarsest food.

In the first campaign gen. Harrison wore a

hunting shirt; conversed freely with the privates, and appeared entirely free from military *hauteur*. In the second he was quite an altered *personage*. He became more distant and reserved he even went so far in one of his harrangues, as to order the officers to "observe a greater distance towards their men," and added that he should "hold them responsible for the consequences." He had, however, an ingenious *salvo* at hand, for, in the same speech, he admitted that there were in the ranks, men better qualified to command, than their officers—"men," said he, "with whose conversation I am charmed, and for whose talents and characters I have the highest respect."

Harrison is apparently about 45 years of age; five feet eleven inches high, slender made—of a sanguine, impatient countenance—his eyes are black, ardent and penetrating—his hair black. He has the peculiar faculty of seeing every thing within the compass of his view, without seeming to notice any thing but the immediate object of his attention. He possesses a singular volubility of speech—his eloquence is nervous and persuasive. No general ever possessed a happier voice for command. He is not without enemies, yet few men posses the *art of popularity* in an equal degree. If he knew the *art of health* as well, he might be pronounced a great general. His personal courage is unquestionable.

Gens. Cass and M'Arthur were very popular in the army; they were at once beloved and respected. I have seen M'Arthur with his own hands lift a flour barrel from a baggage waggon, (in order to expedite the issue of rations)—secure a boat that was about to get adrift—carry rails and poles to repair bridges. The effect was excellent: the men, cheered with the sound of "COME BOYS," moved to their duty with alacrity. The imperative "GO," destroys their zeal and causes them to move like oxen, long inured to toil.

At the second seige of fort Meigs, the Indians attempted to play off a *ruse de guerre* upon the garrison. They commenced a sham fight in the woods, about half a miles from the fort, in the direction of Lower Sandusky. The fire was kept up with great warmth for some time, with a view to induce the Americans to believe that a reinforcement from Sandusky were endeavoring to relieve them. The men in the garrison were anxious to sally out to assist their supposed friends, but gen. Clay was not to be deceived by stratagem.

The horrible ceremonial of burning prisoners, was twice celebrated by the Indians soon after the attack on fort Stephenson.

Soon after the friendly Indians joined Harrison, in August, 1813, they performed the war dance, to the no small diversion of the

army. As Carver describes this custom very justly, I will only adopt his description.

"It is performed amidst a circle of the warriors; a chief generally begins it, who moves from the right to the left, singing at the same time both his own exploits, and those of his ancestors. When he has concluded his account of any memorable action, he gives a violent blow with his war club, against a post that is fixed in the ground, near the centre of the assembly for this purpose. Every one dances in his turn, and recapitulates the wonderous deeds of his family, till they all at last join in the dance. Then it becomes truly alarming to any stranger that happens to be among them, as they throw themselves into every horrible and terrifying posture that can be imagined, rehearsing at the same time the parts they expect to act against their enemies in the field. During this they hold their sharp knives in their hands, with which, as they whirl about, they are every moment in danger of cutting each other's throats; and did they not shun the threatened mischief with inconceivable dexterity, it could not be avoided. By these motions they intend to represent the manner in which they kill, scalp, and take their prisoners. To heighten the scene, they set up the same hideous yells, cries, and war-whoops they use in time of action; so that it is impossible to consider them in any other light than as an assembly of demons."

Abuses in the Army.

If it be a fact that in the armies of the U. States, DISEASE kills *three* to where the enemy does *one*; the evil claims the prompt and serious attention of government, and ought to be remedied. IT IS A MELANCHOLY FACT!

I will premise in the first place, that our northern frontier, from the French Mills to Detroit, is, at certain points, and especially at every military station, extremely *unhealthy*. The disease incident to the *climate*, are agues and fevers of different kinds. The British side of the lake is as bad or worse.

I will briefly state what I have *seen*, and with no other view than to aid in the correction of the evil.

I last summer visited the northern frontier, volunteered in the service, as a private, to ascertain by experience and ocular scrutiny the police of our camps and the condition of the sick.

The science of health was no part of the general's study; other cares engrossed his thoughts. Hygeia and Mars were not [illegible] hab-

ite of intercourse. The stench of the camp was insupportable; men sickened and died in their tents. The little medical aid they received was administered in most cases by downright quacks. At Detroit, several houses were occupied for the benefit of the sick; they were dignified with the name of *hospitals!* The smell of the rooms was enough to make a well man sick in five minutes. It was as much as one's life was worth to enter them; yet the *sick* were sent there to *recover their health!* Poor fellows!

In an army, death soon loses its terrors.—The loss of a soldier excites very little interest. The *surgeons* and *doctars* are not very solicitous to evince their professional skill, even if they chance to possess it.

The officers fared very little better. Even col. Johnson suffered beyond measure, in his passage from the Moravian town to Sandusky. One of governor Shelby's volunteers was shot through the neck: ten days afterwars his wound had not been dressed; his situation was distressing. We left him at Portage; whether he lived or did I know not. He was a promising young man and bore his pains with the greatest fortitude.

The disease most fatal in the army, is the flux, or camp distemper, malignant and incurable in most cases, when opposed by inapti-

cal ignorance but which every old woman in the country would cure in three days with a decoction of milk, pine bark and spikenard root.

I went frequently to the burying grounds to count the fresh graves and mark the progress of death. My heart sickened at the sight. By inspecting those of Detroit, Fort Meigs, Portage, Sandusky, Erie, Buffalo and Eleven Mile Creek, and by ascertaining the loss sustained by different corps, I was enabled to form a pretty correct estimate of the number of deaths by sickness. The aggregate was alarming.

Capt. M'Clelland's company of 12 month's volunteers, from Fayette county, Pennsylvania, a very patriotic corps, and the one to which I was attached, left Pittsburg on the 5th of October 1812, *forty four* strong. They were for the most part men of talents and property. They were discharged at Detroit last October and had lost *fifteen* of their numbers, twelve, by sickness—and three, killed in battle; and it was doubtful whether several others, then sick, would ever reach home.

Almost every other corps in the army, that had been as long in service, suffered in the same ratio. The Chilicothe [illegible] Pittsburgh Blues, Payn's, Markle's and Garrard's cavalry, Hopkin's [illegible]

coms, Puthuff's and Kisling's infantry, the Petersburgh volunteers, all of Ball's legion, and whose respective losses I had the means of correctly ascertaining, lost nearly every third man. The Petersburgh volunteers, as fine a company as ever trod the earth—men in the prime and vigor of life, the flower of Petersburgh, left home 101 strong. At the time of their discharge, which was in October, 1813, they had lost 27 of their number, 22 of whom perished by disease; several more remained seriously indisposed. I question whether more than 70 of these brave fellows will ever see Petersburgh again. Such was their prtriotic ardor, that they left business which was lucrative—their homes the seat of elegance and ease—their friends, parents, wives and children—marched more than one thousand miles to encounter the inclemency of the seasons—the toils and dangers of war, the horrors of disease, *to serve their country*, which they most faithfully performed. I will not attempt to describe my feelings, when I saw such men borne by their comrades to a rude and solitary grave.

From what I have heard and seen, I am induced to believe that the *loss by disease*, sustained by the northern army, is in the same proportion. It will follow then, as a necessary consequence, that the recruiting service must be briskly pushed to fill the vacancies in the ranks occasioned by sickness, to say noth-

ing of losses by the sword, to which all armies are subject.

The enemy have been equally unfortunate in preserving the health of their troops, as the graves of Malden and Burlington will attest. We have the official avowal of sir George Prevost, that disease had made an alarming progress in the English army in Canada. In his letter to sir J. L. Yeo, of September 19, 1813, he says: "To the local disadvantages of the positions occupied by our army, have unhappily been added *disease* and desertion, to a degree calling for immediate remedy." The British central army lost nearly 500 men *by sickness*, in the months of August, September and October of last year.

I have already said that there were local situations on both sides the lakes extremely unhealthy. Yet I will contend that there exists no *physical necessity* for the mortality experienced by the troops of both nations—that the cause is less in nature than in *management*, as I will prove by reference to a few facts.

The fatigues of surveying are as great as those of military service, except on particular occasions. In 1798, the Holland Company surveyed their purchase (lying on a part of lake Ontario, Niagara river, and a part of lake Erie) into townships. Joseph Ellicott, den of Philadelphia, was engaged to superin-

tend the survey. About *three hundred* were employed in the work from May till December; six or eight of the hands employed in the traverse of Chataqua lake and Cataragus river, took the ague and fever; but not *one* of the whole three hundred died—they enjoyed the best possible state of health. Their living was bread, pork and chocolate. In the summers of 1799 and 1800, about the same number of men were employed in surveying the townships into lots, and they enjoyed the same degree of health. In the surveying of the lands of New Connecticut and the western parts of Pennsylvania where I was personally employed, no instance of death, by sickness, occurred. Of the 23 persons, who accompanied capts. Lewis and Clark, from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean, only *one* died. They were more than two years absent—their sufferings are well known.

Col. Johnson's corps of mounted men, at all times 1000 strong, traversed the Indiana and Michigan territories in quest of the enemy; passed into Canada to the Moravian town and returned to Detroit. They had been six months in service and lost only *three men* by sickness. They were always on the alert, and rarely breathed the pestifurious air of the camp. The French army of Egypt, of 40,000 men, always on the move, and in a warm and unwholesome climate, did not suffer as much by sickness in two years, as we have lost at

some particular posts in one. These facts are of immense importance to the American nation, and are susceptible of the most ample proof.

The officers of the American army are generally possessed of humanity, and indulgent to their men; there is here and there an epauletted coxcomb as destitute of feeling as the ice of Spitzbergen is of heat, but even these, are not able to kill men by mere dint of cruelty, if a proper camp discipline was adopted and enforced. The rations of our army are good.

Having briefly pointed out the EVIL I leave the discovery and application of the *remedy** to the proper authorities—to congress and the war department.

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* Suppose congress were to institute a military board of health, and place at its head one of the first phisicians in the United States, with a salary equal to that of a major general, with authority to send packing the whole herd of MURDERANDAS, and to substitute proper persons in their places, with suitable salaries to induce skilful and zealous practitioners to engage in the service!

Plan

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Plan of a Military Settlement.

It is well known, that since the commencement of the present war with the Indians, several expensive and formidable expeditions, have been sent against those tribes living on the waters of the Wabash, Illinois, Mississippi and Lake Michigan, without producing any other effect than their temporary dispersion, or the burning a few towns. Gens. Harrison and Russell, gov. Edwards, cols. Campbell Johnson and others, have all performed long and tedious marches into the Indian country for the purpose of harrassing the enemy: but their success has not been commensurate to the expense. The indians are still unsubdued and ready and able to commit fresh depredations.

The *causes* which have rendered these expeditions abortive are obvious. The savages having little or no baggage to retard their movements, cannot be overtaken by their pursuers; they can disperse and collect at pleasure, while our troops are obliged to keep together and to move slowly and with the utmost circumspection, to avoid ambush and surprize. It most generally happens, that before our troops can find an enemy, their provisions become exhausted and they are com-

pelled to return home without having accomplished any thing but fatigueing marches.—They are then disbanded and the frontiers left open to savage incursion.

There is a bill before congress, which has for its object the better security of the frontiers of the state of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois territories. It proposes to appropriate a strip of the public lands thirty miles wide, and more than four hundred long, beginning near the mouth of the Sandusky on lake Erie and running a litttle south of a westerly course, till it intersects the Mississippi near the mouth of the Missouri. The bill proposes, in substance, to grant this extensive tract of public land to actual settlers, in donations of half a section (320 acres) to every individual who shall reside on the same, and equip himself with arms and accoutrements, and hold himself liable to perform militia duty during the war.

To say nothing of the folly of *giving* away nearly 20,000,000 of acres of public lands, there are several other weighty objections to the bill:

1. Adventurers will flock to those lands, who will *locate* the best tracts, but will be found cunning enough to evade the most essential provisions of the law, by feigning ex-

cuses of absence, whenever there is fighting to be done.

2. The settlements will necessarily be weak and insulated and exposed to be cut off in detail.

3. If the inhabitants unite in an expedition against the Indians, it will prove fruitless for the same reasons that those already projected have failed.

4. Considerable time must elapse before any thing like concert and organization can exist in the colony.

5. A militia system cannot be depended upon, as is proved by the events on the Niagara frontier.

6. The line of defence is improperly located.

The Indians from whom we are to expect the greatest annoyance in future, are those inhabiting the waters of lakes Michigan and Huron. They are under the influence of Dixon, and are capable of much mischief to our frontier settlers.

I will briefly give the outlines of a plan for a MILITARY SETTLEMENT, which might, if properly encouraged and supported, oppose

an effectual barrier to Indian hostility, east of the Mississippi.

The country bordering on the southern waters of lake Michigan presents peculiar advantages for a military settlement. Nature has dispensed her bounties with a liberal hand. The climate is mild—the soil fertile—the vegetation uncommonly luxuriant. The forests are filled with game, the waters are covered with fowl. Perhaps there is no section of the U. States more favorable for a new settlement, even if it were to be purely agricultural.—Here, then, let congress fix on the *scite* for a fort, and the *boundaries* of a colony. The banks of the river St. Joseph are probably the most eligible. The next step will be to people it with *fifteen hundred* brave men—500 to act as infantry and 1000 to be mounted. Give them two or three ships of war, enough to eat and wear, and a commander of established reputation; for instance, a Johnson, a Ball, or a Croghan, and we should hear no more of Indian murders on the frontiers.

To make it an object for men of enterprize to embark in the measure, allow every private a bounty of $100 in cash and a half section in land; when on active duty, pay them twelve dollars a month; let the mounted men be furnished with horses at the public expense; to mechanics give the tools of their respective arts; to the cultivaters of the soil

give oxen, cows, sheep, hogs and the implements of husbandry; for it is to be understood, that at least one third of the settlers are to be men of families. The horses and cattle could be sent on from Ohio, by the way of Fort Wayne. The first year's provisions could be conveyed by water from Erie, Cleveland or Buffalo. A grist and saw mill would be indispensible appendages to the establishment. A minister of the gospel and two or three good Physicians would be necessary. Lawyers could be dispensed with. Whenever such a force and such an institution is displayed on the southern shores of lake Michigan, we will have little to fear from the savages.

But why locate this settlement on the southern shore of lake Michigan, in preference to Tippecanoe or the banks of the Illinois? Because, there are many powerful reasons to induce the preference.

1. The Potawatamies and Winnebagoes, Indians of very bad faith, live on the eastern and western waters of this lake, and to terrify and overawe them it is necessary to be in their neighborhood.

2. The shores of the lake, are admirably calculated for cavalry movements, and there are immense praries in the direction of fort Wayne, Tippecanoe and the Illinois, upon

which the mounted men could act to great advantage and make rapid movements; so that on whatever point the enemy should menace an attack the advantages of locality would be altogether in favor of this position.

3. Forage, stores and supplies of every kind could be sent safely by water from the numerous settlements on lakes St. Clair and Erie.

4. The flotilla could co-operate with effect.

5. There exists strong political reasons for preferring the southern waters of lake Michigan to any other place. Lake Superior *may* become the theatre of naval operations. The north west company will make desperate efforts to retain the monopoly of the fur trade.

6. The Indians will not remain between two fires, or, in other words, they would not continue (in a state of hostility) on the waters of the Miami of the Lakes, Wabash and Illinois, while expeditions from Ohio and Indiana, could co-operate with the troops of the military settlement.

7. Horses could not be conveniently wintered without hay, which could only be procured by water from Detroit.

View of the Lake Coaft from Sandufky to Detroit.*

The distance by land, from the mouth of Sandusky bay to the town of Detroit, is 115 miles; in a dirict course by water, it is not more than 74 miles. Boats frequently pass to and from Malden and Detroit by way of the islands, which extend nearly in a direct line from the point of the peninsula formed by Sandusky bay and Portage river, to Malden. The proximity of the Islands to each other renders the navigation safe; it sometimes happens, however, owing to the temirity or ignorance of the pilots, that boats are lost.—The number of Islands is about twenty; the principal of which are Cunningham's, Put-in-Bay, Isle aux Fleurs and Pointe au Plait Island. Each of these contain several thousand

* In the profpectus of this work, it was promiſed to give a view of the lake coaft from Sandufky to Michilimackinac, but the writer not much verſed in book making, found when he began to arrange his notes, that a particular deſcription of ſuch an immenſe extent of country could not be comprized within the narrow limits preſcribed to the publication. In this dilemma, he has preferred giving a minute account of a *part* to a brief view of the whole, which deciſion he thinks the reader will approve.

acres of excellent land, covered with lofty timber, such as white oak, black walnut, red cedar, baswood and honey locust.

Put-in-Bay is an object of much interest in a political point of view. It lies about one mile south of the Isle aux Fleurs, and the *boundary line* between Canada and the United States passes between them. It is about 12 miles in circumference and affords the BEST HARBOR between Boffalo and Malden. It contains several hundred acres of the finest oak timber to be found on the lake waters; about 300 acres of this invaluable forest have been deadened by the proprietor, Mr. Edwards, who in 1812, employad about thirty hands in clearing land. He built a house on the side of the bay and procured a stock of hogs and 300 merino sheep which he wintered on the island. His wheat, corn, and potatoes, garden and meadow were very fine—his first harvest gave him 1200 bushels of wheat. A few weeks before the declaration of war he was compelled, from motives of safety, to abandon his establishment. The Indians destroyed his grain and burnt his house; the hogs were not all killed; we saw several in the woods perfectly wild and in good condition. Gen. Harrison caused a large log building to be erected on the margin of the bay, which served as a public store. The harbor is on the north side within the strait formed by Isle aux Fleurs, and is deep enough at certain

points, to admit vessels of 400 tons burthen to anchor within twenty yards of the shore. The south half of the island is covered with black walnut and honey locust. From the pods of the latter, which are about twelve inches long and one wide, is made a liquor resembling metheglin. The process is simply, bruising and fermentation; one tree will often yield 15 or 20 bushels of pods. The soil is a deep black mould, resting on a bed of limestone similar to that of many parts of Kentucky. Nearly in the centre of the island is a cave into which several of us descended, and at the distance of 200 feet from its mouth found a subterranean pond of the purest water. Twelve or fifteen feet from its entrace, one is obliged to creep for eight or ten feet, when you enter a spacious room about 170 feet long and 40 wide; its left side rises like an amphitheatre; the angle of the descent from the entrance to the pond is about 15 degrees. It was with difficulty that we could preserve our lights; we could neither ascertain the depth or extent of the water, for it effectually prevented our further progress. We had furnished ourselves with a pole 25 feet long, for the purpose of sounding it. It unquestionably communicates with the circumfluent lake. The place appeared to have been much frequented by Indians. No place is better adapted to the raising of sheep, as the wolves were never known to venture over from the main, and the timothy seed sown by Mr. Edwards had pro-

duced a meadow of the most luxuriant growth. The people employed on Mr. E's. plantation enjoyed good health. There is one serious evil, however to counterbalance so many advantages. There are great numbers of rattle snakes; so plenty indeed, that they would crawl into our tents and conceal themselves under our baggage. An officer of Shelby's corps found one under his pillow, when he awoke in the morning. The proprietor of this island died in the autumn of 1812. *Query:* Are not political considerations sufficiently weighty to induce the purchase of this island by the United States? The contingencies of war—events, now in the womb of futurity, may render this island of great national importance. There is an excellent scite for a navy yard, and timber in sufficient quantities within rifle shot distance from the shore.

These islands in most places present a beautiful white beach; here and there you perceive rude clifts of limestone rock curiously excavated by the surf. They are not correctly laid down in any map that I have seen. Melish's map of the seat of war, the best extant, is incorrect in the position of these islands. Put in-Bay and Aux Fleurs actually but one mile apart, are represented at the distance of fifteen on the map. The location of the Three Sisters is equally erroneous.

Deer are frequently seen swimming from

the point of the peninsula to the nearest islands, where they range in undisturbed security. They have very sensibly increased in numbers since the declaration of war, by reason of the Indians having had no time to hunt. The velocity of a deer's motion in water, when swimming, if frightened and pursued, is incredible. Few boats are able to overtake them.

The "myriads of water snakes," which were basking on the leaves of the pond lilly, at the time Carver passed the islands, are not to be seen at this day. Neither has any one ever been able to discover his deleterious "hissing snake."* When will the sagacious geographer Morse reject this fable?

Several families have setled on the Isle au Plait, for the purpose of raising cattle and hogs, which are found to do extremely well, and that without receiving much attention from

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* The moft remarkable of the different fpecies that infeft this lake, [Erie] is the hiffing fnake, which is of the fmall fpeckled kind, and is about eight inches long. When any thing approaches, it flattens itfelf in a moment, and its fpots, which are of various dyes, become viſibly brighter through rage; at the fame time it blows from its mouth, with great force, a fubtle wind, that is reported to be of a naufeous fmell; and if drawn in with the breath of the unwary traveller, will infallibly bring on a decline, that in a few months muft prove mortal, there being no remedy yet difcovered which can counteract its baneful influence. (Carver.)

the owners. One family often own three or four hundred hogs.

The peninsula projects ten miles into the lake, and is formed by Sandusky bay and Portage river, which at their nearest approach are not more than a mile and a half a part. The intervening land is a perfect level, of a rich black soil and not more than six feet above the surface of both waters. A canal across this neck, which would cost but a few thousand dollars, would save boats nearly thirty miles of dangerous navigation. The head of the peninsula proves frequently a difficult point to weather. The west, south west and north west winds generally prevail: hence, boats often experience several days delay in their passage round the point.

The peninsula contains about one hundred thousand acres and may at no remote period nourish a populous settlement; the soil is in most places a deep black mold, covered with black walnut, butternut, honey locust, bass-wood and oak; the surface is apparently as level as the almost surrounding waters, though there is an impreceptible acclivity from the neck to its terminating point, where the bank is twenty feet high. About a dozen families had settled on its eastern margin before the war, but the menaces of the Indians soon compelled them to abandon their habitations.—Those parts lying on the bay and Portage

have proved sickly, while those washed by the lake are favorable to health. The pebbles of the beach as well as the rocks of the shore are limestone: the same of the islands.

Sandusky bay, or rather the "*Little Lake*," as it is termed by the inhabitants, is twelve miles long and eight wide. At the narrows, where it communicates with lake Erie, it is not more than half a mile wide. It affords an excellent harbor for boats and light vessels. Clouds of ducks are at all times seen flying about the bay; fish can be taken in abundance. Bull's island on which have resided several French families, is situated on the north side. The bay receives the waters of Sandusky river, Cold and Pipe Creeks; at the mouth of Cold Creek stands a small deserted Indian village belonging to the chief Makoonse; the farm of this chief is of itself a fortune.

The Sandusky is a considerable river, and boatable about seventy miles. Its waters interweave with those of the Big Miami. Its course from its source to the lake is nearly northeast. Vessels of fifty tons burthen can ascend as far as fort Stephenson, 18 miles from its entrance into the little lake. The current thus far, is sluggish and opposes very little resistance to boats going up; indeed, it not unfrequently sets up the river, in consequence of the rise of the lake;—hence the banks of this river, as well as those of Tous

Saints, Miami, Raisins, &c. have the resemblance of those of tide water streams. The land of both banks of the Sandusky is almost every where rich; the first 10 miles the timber is principally oak, with little under-wood; the interval or bottom extends with little interruption from fort Stephenson to Upper Sandusky, a distance of forty miles, and its fertility is enough to astonish people, who have not travelled westwardly beyond the Genesee. The river abounds with several kinds of valuable fish; wild geese and ducks, particularly in spring and autumn, are so thick that one need never be at a loss for a shot at them. The praries are open and extensive; they are always surrounded by fine oak and chesnut land, which will furnish the best rail timber. The swales are covered with lynn, sugar maple, honey locust, cucumber, red elm, &c. Farms might be so chosen that the proprietor could take equal quantities of bottom, open and heavy timbered lands. The country, after you get ten or fifteen miles from the lake is found to be healthful; and so even is its surface, that roads can be readily opened in every direction. Besides, there is *another advantage*, which no country this side the Mississippi possesses in an equal degree: I mean the RANGE for cattle and hogs:—There is a *natural meadow* independent of the immense praries ninety miles long and from two to ten wide, extending from the mouth of Portage to Brownstown. This meadow will afford

an inexhaustable supply of grass or hay for all the cattle which the inhabitants can raise or procure, probably for half a century to come. The earth yields wild artichokes and wild potatoes in prodigious quantities; and, the mast has never been known to fail, because, there are so many kinds that every season is favorable to some; there are hickory nuts, hazelnuts, chesnuts, acorns, locust seed and black walnuts. The praries themselves are covered with a redundant growth of grass which has been found a good substitute for hay. When they are sufficiently plowed they easily take timothy and other hay seed—the soil is a rich dry muck and produces corn, flax, hemp, potatoes, &c. as well as the best Ohio bottoms. The celebrated vale of *Tempe* was not more enchanting to the eye of the ravished beholder, than is the scenery of these beautiful plains: An officer of the north western army thus describes an extensive prarie:—"After traveling some scores of miles (from Urbanna) through a thick and contined forest, and suddenly emerging from it into this extensive plain, the sensations produced upon the mind are delightful beyond description. The traveller is almost ready to imagine himself suddenly transported into the *Elysium* of the ancients. Let the reader figure to himself a beautiful plain, extending many miles, even until the distant horison terminates his view; let this plain be covered with the richest verdue and the finest tints of nature in its

greatest exuberance, and variegated with distant clusters of trees, and he will have some faint idea of the grounds here described. Indeed the philosophic mind will rarely enjoy a richer feast than nature here presents him."

A barrel of pork, beef or flour can be sent to Montreal for one dollar and seventy five cents. The land belongs to the United States, and can be had for two dollars an acre. These peculiar advantages have not escaped the notice of many enterprizing men, who had began to break ground just as the war commenced;—that event has necessarily suspended the settlements; but they will undoubtedly be resumed the ensuing spring.

Fort Stephenson is situated on the west bank of the Sandusky, at the distance of two hundred yards from the river, where the second banks are about fifty feet high. Seven miles above the fort are the Seneca and Delaware Indian villages. The distance from this post to fort Meigs is forty miles; the road passes through the Black Swamp, which is four miles wide. The country between this road and the great meadow is too flat for cultivation, though the soil is extremely rich.

Portage river is a deep languid stream, furnishing an excellent harbor for small craft at its mouth. It rises in the Black swamp and is not more than thirty miles long; but is one

hundred yards wide six miles from the lake; the land on both sides is rich. The remains of an Indian village are to seen on its left bank, where there is also a peach orchard; this river is a place of great resort for wild fowl. There is a United States store house on the *Portage* road from Sandusky bay to the mouth of the river. There is very little timber growing on the neck of the peninsula. No white man has as yet had the hardihood to settle at the mouth of Portage, though the advantages of the range are incalculable; besides there will always be much travelling across the Portage.

The GREAT MEADOW cannot contain less than two hundred thousand acres. Its bank is generally about eight feet above the surface of the lake. The soil is in many parts sufficiently dry for ploughing, and traces of old Indian corn hills are frequently met with. I had the best opportunity for exploring that part which lies between Miami bay and Portage river. Sergeant Abraham, myself and three others, of M'Clelland's company were dispatched from fort Meigs with a letter from gen. M'Arthur to general Harrison. We descended the Miami in a canoe, and at sun set had just reached the bay, which like that of Sandusky has every appearance of a lake—it soon became dark and windy, and instead of striking the mouth of the bay we made land inside, several miles too far to the right. It

was about midnight when we landed; we were completely lost, and the darkness rendered it impracticable to correct our mistake before daylight, We therefore hauled up our canoe and concealed ourselves in the grass till morning. My comrades slept soundly; as for me, it was the first time I had been exposed to the tomahawk, and every [illegible] I heard I fancied it was caused by the [illegible] steps of a savage—my eyes never closed *that night*. At the dawn of day we repaired to the beach and found our canoe completely filled by the dashing of the surf. We had left every thing in the canoe but our musket, (we had but one) our ammunition and provisions were completely soaked. Here we were; in an Indian country with nothing to defend ourselves with but an ax and a musket which could not be discharged. I could not persuade my companions to bail the canoe and proceed by water; they preferred going down the beach of the lake; the distance was forty miles. We were then not more than one mile from the lake, and by forcing our way through the grass of the meadow we could save several miles travel; this we attempted, but found the grass higher than our heads and as thick as a mat, confined together by a species of pea vine, which compelled us to tread it under our feet to make the least progress; this operation was too slow and fatiguing to be long continued; besides the trail which we made was too *conspicuous* for my *then* notions of prudence,

and in the course of a few rods we had disturbed several rattle snakes—one of our party was barefoot, the rest in shoes.

We retraced our steps, followed the beach to the mouth of the bay and thence down the lake shore. About twelve we found our progress stopped by a deep dark stream, which we at first supposed to be Portage river. A majority of the company voted against swimming; (indeed one could not swim) and we could not find materials for a raft. The meadow is here apparently ten miles wide. It was thought, if we could gain the woods we could either ford or raft across the river. Accordingly we firmly resolved to force our passage through the grass to the woods; we were induced to adopt this alternative in consequence of observing the yellow blossoms of a tall weed, which lined the banks of the river as far as we could see them, and which always grow on the dryest parts. We pushed on as fast as possible; each one taking his turn to open a passage; in this way we progressed about two miles and found the labor too great to be surmounted. We returned to the mouth of the river (which we afterwards leart to be the Tous Saints) and attempted to gain the woods by a new passage one mile further up the lake. We forced the grass nearly a mile to a grove of trees which appeared to be within a short distance of an arm of the main woods. It is impossible for me to give the

render a perfect idea of the difficulties and fatigue we experienced in getting to the grove. The grass was about 7 feet high and so thick that it would easily sustain ones hat—in some places a cat could have walked on its surface; in many places it was effectually matted by vines that required one's whole strength to break down. To break the road four rods was as much as the best of us could perform at one turn. We continued our exertions till dark and succeeded in reaching an insulated piece of woods half a mile wide and three long; we encamped near the banks of an impassable slough or branch of the river; wet, fatigued and supperless, we lay down on the moist ground and had but two blankets among five of us. Not a moments sleep for my eyes this night; but neither the danger of the rattle snak's fangs or the horrors of the scalping knife had any influence with my comrades; they slept as soundly as though they had been under their paternal roofs. But they had been so long familiarized to danger, that it had lost its terrors—*I* was a *raw hand*; hence the difference. The geese, ducks, and other fowl kept up an incessant noise the whole night. The dew had the effect of a shower—our clothes and blankets were as wet as though they had been exposed to a heavy rain. In the morning finding our progress checked, we attempted an "oblique movement to the left," but this produced no better success; at ten o'clock we became too much exhausted

to continue our efforts. "A council of war" was held; the result was, every one was willing to return to the mouth of the river and effect its passage at every hazzard. On our return to the river, we found fresh horse and Indian tracks, but whether they were made by friendly or hostile Indians, we never learnt. We had the good fortune to find a piece of drift wood sufficiently large to sustain the man that could not swim, our clothes, &c. Of this we made a rude raft, with which we succeeded in getting over. Suffice it to say, in conclusion, that we afterwards found too many opportunities to become thoroughly acquainted with this immense meadow. It is no exageration to say that we met with rattle snakes every ten rods from Touis Saints to Portage river. The grass of this meadow is of a softer kind than the wild grass of the praries and answers all the purposes of hay and pasture. It is intermixed with wild oats, wild rye, wild peas, beans, &c, making it in short, the best range for cattle or horses I ever saw. The Tous Saints is an unfrequented solitary river, and the best place for fowling this side Detroit. To those attached to this kind of sport, it is worth a journey of five hundred miles, to view the feathered assemblage which almost cover the surface of the river and sometimes darken the air with their numbers.

Miami bay, like that of Sandusky, resembles a lake; it is about fifteen miles long and

twelve wide; vessels of 70 tons burthen can pass the bar at its entrance. Within the bosom of of this bay grow several thousand acres of *folle avoine*, (wild oats) which constitute the principal food of the vast flocks of ducks that frequent the place. It grows in about 7 feet water; the stalks near the roots are about an inch in diamater and grow to the height of ten feet; its leaves above the surface of the water are like those of the reed cane; in other respects it resembles the common oat stalk in every thing but size and kernel, which is of the nature of rice, and of which the French people make free use in their favorite soup. Its yield is very abundant, being half a pint, at least, from every stalk. This valuable aquatic grain is found at the mouths of all the rivers which fall into the lakes west of Sandusky, as far as the south end of lake Michigan, and is the chief subsistence of the prodigious number of water fowl which are found on these waters. The duck has become singularly expert in plucking her food from the *folle avoine*; being unable to reach the highest branches, she presses her breast against the stalk and with a violent effort of her feet causes it to yield to her strength, which it readily does by reason of its slender fibrous roots—having forced the top of the stalk into the water, she keeps it under her body until she has finished her repast.

The Miami of the lake is a fine river navigable for light vessels as far as the rapids, which are 18 miles from its mouth. It is formed by the juction of the St. Mary's and the St. Joseph's, which mingle their waters at fort Wayne; from thence it meanders through a rich level country to fort Winchester, (lately fort Defiance) where it receives the Au Glaize from the south east; its general course is north east; its banks are regular—high, but not abrupt—sloping gradually to the water's edge, and covered with a beautiful luxuriant verdue. The channel of the river from the rapids, to within three miles of the bay is composed of limestone rock, formed into regular strata by parallel fissures, which sink perpendicularly into the rock and run transversely across the river. The face of the bank for ten or twelve feet above the water is also composed of solid rock, and from its appearance it is evident that the current has worn the channel many feet deeper than it was in former ages.

Fort Meigs is situated on the eastern bank nearly opposite the *Rapids*; the prospect here in summer is most delightful.

The rich open bottoms extending to the right and left as far as the eye can reach; the elevation of the banks; the beautiful Miami flowing rapidly through the centre of the valley, the declivities of the surrounding hills

here and there adorned with clusters of honey locust, plum trees and hawthorn, clad with the wide spreading grape vine—present at once a romantic and interesting scenery.

No one can visit this place and not be charmed with its appearance and peculiar advantages. If fishing be his favorite diversion, here he will attain his utmost gratification. The quantity of fish at the rapids is almost incredible; the Miami at this place, is now what the rapids of *Fish creek* in Saratoga county were 40 years ago. So numerous are they at this place, that a spear may be thrown into the water at random, and will rarely miss killing one! I saw several hundred taken in this manner in a few hours. The soldiers of the fort used to kill them in great quanties with clubs and stones. Some days there were not less than 1000 taken with the hook within a short distance of the fort, and of an excellet quality. If he prefer fowling here also is a fine field for his sports; the river—Swan creek, and the shoals of the bay, swarm with ducks, geese, &c. He need not wait one minute for a shot. If hunting is the object of his desire, here too, he will find ample scope to indulge his propensity; the woods are filled with deer, elk and wild turkies.

The whole length of the rapids on both sides the river, will unquestionably, at no remote period, be lined with mills and various

manufactories. The situation is peculiarly favorable; it opens a communication with an immense extent of country, south and westwardly; the advantages of locality, water, navigation, &c. are too striking to be overlooked by the enterprising. Cotton could be procured from Tennessee in any quantity and subject to a land carriage of not more than twenty miles! The rapidly encreasing settlements on lake Erie will render manufactories indispensable. Besides, this place affords a beautiful scite for a town; and there is little doubt but that, in a short time, there will be a flourishing village on the ground where now stands fort Meigs. Before the war there was a flourishing French settlement on the river, extending for several miles above and below the town. The houses were all destroyed by the enemy a few weeks after Hull's surrender, and nothing now remains as a memento of its former existence but the chimnies. The usual yield of corn is 80 bushels to the acre—There was also a small settlement on Swan creek, which shared the same fate. This creek falls into the Miami seven miles below the fort, on the Michigan side. An enterprising man of the name of Owens had erected a mill on this stream; it was burnt by the Indians.

About three miles below fort Meigs, on the same side, are found the ruins of an ancient Indian village; between these ruins and the

fort are several beautiful islands; the largest contains 500 acres, and has been cultivated.

The distance by land from fort Meigs to the river Raisin is 34 miles. Four miles this side Raisin, the little river La Loutre falls into lake Erie. Several families of French were established here before the war, but their habitations were mostly burnt shortly after the fall of Detroit. This stream affords a good harbor for boats. I was told by several of the inhabitants that the land about the head waters of this river is very fertile—that there are several valuable mill seats near these sources.

The Lake coast from Sandusky bay to the mouth of the Raisin resembles that part between the bay and Portage river, already described. I had forgotten to mention that the margin of the coast is several feet higher than the plain in its rear, this necessary mound extends the whole length of the meadow—its summit is covered with a row of trees, which in their turns in summer are covered with an impenetrable foilage of grape vine; these form refreshing shades—grapes are found in abundance, but they are of the species usually called fox grapes.

The mound was evidently formed of sand, shells and pebbles, which the violence of the surf has been accumulating for ages; if it were

not for this defence the lake would often inundate the immensely valuable meadow and cover it with sand and stones.

If I were disposed to indulge in geological speculations on the formation of this vast plain, I would contend that lake Erie was, in former ages, several miles wider than at present, and I would prove my argument by the state of the *second bank*, at the woods, where are to be found cylindrical or water worn stones, muscle shells, hillocks of sand and other evidences of the action of this inland sea.

The river *Aux Raisin* (grape river) has acquired great celebrity in consequence of having been the scene of a sanguinary conflict between the American and British forces. It is smaller than the Miami and its banks are equally handsome with those of that river; but towards its mouth much lower. Its source is near that of the Miskamie which falls into the east side of lake Michigan. Its course is a few minutes south of east. The country at its head is represented by hunters and Indians to be delightful. Towards the lake it meanders through the meadow, and forms a good harbor for boats. The country is settled along both banks for the space of twelve miles.—The first houses are about three miles distant from the lake. The plantations have a narrow front on the river, but extend back a mile and a half; the houses being all built on the

bank of the river, gives it something the appearance of the street of a town. The inhabitants raise large quantities of wheat, and have fine orchards from which cider is made for exportation. Previous to the war they had several grist and saw mills and a distillery.—They are principally French and warmly attached to the United States. A considerable Indian trade is carried on with the Indians from the St. Joseph's and the waters of lake Michigan. There are several Indian villages on the river above the settlement. Good bargains can be made in purchasing improved farms; the inhabitants do not appear to understand the value of improvements. The country on the Raisin has acquired a character for health, but it was visited by the epidemic of last year.

The late garrison on this river was situated about three mils from the lake. It consisted of two block houses, with about an acre of ground enclosed by pickets, at the distance of 15 rods from the river. The scite had been injudiciously selected, for defence. After the territory fell into the hands of the British and Indians, they burnt the block houses.—When gen. Winchester advanced to the river, in January, 1813, he found nothing but a few pickets, sufficient to defend only a part of his camp.

I visited the battle ground and examined

the remains of the pickets, which were completely shattered by the enemy's shot. The bones of our countrymen were still bleaching in the air.

Seven miles from Raisin, the river *Aux Sables* falls into the lake. There is a considerable bay at its mouth into which also runs the little river La Roche; vast quantities of *folle avoine* is found at the mouths of these rivers. A few French families are settled on these waters. The bottom is extensive and rich; the upland is open and in many places sandy, but sufficiently fertile for wheat and barley. I found no person acquainted with the country in the interior; these streams are very brisk and furnish several valuable mill seats.

Six miles from the river La Roche is the river *Aux Cignes*; its banks near the lake are low, but the meadow is susceptible of cultivation; a few wretched French families are the only human beings that have had the courage to brave disease and rattle snakes. Their wheat, corn, pumpkins and gardens did well, indeed there is very little of the *meadow* but what might be plowed—corn, flax and hemp would do best: the pond lilly; *folle avoine* and other aquatic plants almost choak up the channel of the river, giving the water an offensive and putrid smell; it will rope like molasses, yet the inhabitants make a free use of it for cooking

and drinking. Why it did not produce instant death I cannot conceive; their children looked miserably. This is by far the worst looking stream tributary to Lake Erie. The timbered land here approaches within a mile of the lake; four miles from the lake *Aux Cignes* has a brisk current, and affords situations favorable to the erection of water machinery. The trees are lofty—the land high and arable.

For the space of two miles between La Roche and Aux Cignes the meadow is interrupted by wood land which approaches to the beach. This situation is as high as the islands of the lake and has the same soil and timber.

Six miles from Aux Cignes, in the direction of Brownstown, comes in the river Huron,* which pursues a devious course through the meadow and the folle avoine of the lake. It requires an experienced pilot to find the entrance into this river—it is not laid down in any English map now in use. We spent a horrible night on a point of the meadow near its mouth on the last of October, 1813; the rain fell in torrents the whole night and extinguished our fires; we had no tents and were drenched to the skin. I here saw an intelli-

* There are three rivers of this name—the one in question—*Huron* running into the American side of lake St. Clair, and *Huron* that falls into lake Erie, ten miles east of Sandusky bay.

gent Frenchman, who was perfectly acquainted with the interior parts of the Michigan territory—I have only room to say that his account was very interesting. The meadow here is apparently three miles wide. The Canada shore to the distance of fifteen miles below Malden is visible from the mouth of Huron.

The distance from Huron to Brownstown is five miles, where the meadow terminates—having gradually narrowed from the Aux Cignes. The village of Brownstown is nearly opposite to Malden. It contains about one hundred houses, and is the residence of Walk-in-the-Water. The road from this village to the river Raisin is naturally good. The Indians have several hundred acres of rich corn and wheat ground, but such is their indolance and fondness for spirituous liquors, that they raise very little corn. Their nearness to Malden has a very pernicious influence on their minds and morals. They are much addicted to intoxication, and are a ferocious looking set of beings.

Four miles above Brownstown stands the little village of Maguago of twenty houses.—The strait for the space of six miles from the lake, is divided into two channels by *Gross Isle*, an alluvion of ten thousand acres, on which are several valuable farms owned by [illegible] French. [illegible] Island, in front

of Malden belongs to the United States; the channal passes between this island and Malden. At no time since the declaration of independence till the capture of Malden, has the British flag ceased to "wave over the territory" of the United States; from 1783 to 1794 the British retained the frontier posts of Detroit, Miami, &c; from 1794 till 1813, they had always kept a small garrison with a battery and flag staff on *Bois blanc*. This fact cannot be controverted.

The American side of the strait receives the rivers Aux Ecorces and Rouge; the first is at the distance of ten, the latter five miles below Detroit. The Rouge is a deep slow stream, capable of admitting vessels of three hundred tons five miles from its mouth, where there is a ship yard; the United States brig Adams was built here: its banks are thickly settled by French. Several Indian villages are established on its head water. The mouths of Aux Ecorces and Rouge are wide and contain many hundred acres of *folle avoine*. The road from Aux Ecorces to Brownstown passes on hard dry land and through several groves of lofty white oak timber.

Three miles below Detroit are the Spring Wells, or Belle Fontaine. The bank is here about thirty feet high, and presents one of the finest views imaginable. You have a full view of the Canadian shore for ten or fifteen

miles, Sandwich, Detroit, Les Cotes, and the wind mills of both shores.

The town of Detroit is situated on the western bank of the strait, nine miles below lake St. Clair and eighteen above Brownstown. The town contains about two hundred houses, which are inhabited by more than one thousand two hundred souls; under one roof are often crowded several families. The town stands contiguous to the river, on the top of the bank, which are here about twenty feet high. There are several wooden wharves extending into the river upwards of one hundred feet, for the accommodation of the shipping; the largest was built by the United States, and is found very convenient for the unloading of vessels. The principal streets run parallel with the river, and are intersected by cross streets at right angles. They are wide, but not being paved are extremely muddy in wet weather; but for the accommodation of passengers, there are foot ways in most of them formed of square logs. Every house has a garden attached to it; the buildings are mostly framed, though there are several elegant stone and brick buildings. Before the great fire in 1806, the town was surrounded by a strong stockade, through which there were four gates; two of them open to the wharves, the others to the land; this defence was intended to repel the attacks of the Indians.

The fort stands on a rise of ground two hundred yards in the rear of the town; the fortifications consist of a stockade of cedar pickets, with bastions of earth; near the foot of the ditch is a row of short sharp pickets, inclining outwards—thirty pieces of cannon can be mounted on the ramparts; the fort covers about an acre and a half of ground.

The proximity of one house to another, from lake St. Clair to the river Rouge, gives the street the resemblance of the suburbs of a great town. The farms are only twenty rods wide on the river and extend back one mile and a quarter; the same of those on the other rivers as well as those on the British side. The country round Detroit is very much cleared. The inhabitants have to draw their wood a mile and a half, from the United States lands, in the rear of the town. It sells in market for three dollars a cord; almost every farm has an orchard; apples, pears and peaches do well—several hundred barrels of cider are annually made, and sells as high as six dollars a barrel. The land rises gradually from the river to the distance of three hundred yards; it then recedes till the country becomes low and level, and continues so four or five miles, when it rises by degrees and at this distance is represented as first rate land.

There are a number of stores which appear to have a brisk trade, and they know how to

extort an exorbitant price for every thing sold.

The United States have a long elegant brick store at the water's edge, near the public wharf —this is completely filled with the spoils of the enemy taken on the Thames—and the arms of the volunteers. This building is 80 feet long, 30 wide and three stories high. The enemy had partly unroofed it, but it was soon repaired.

The streets of Detroit are generally crowded with Indians of various tribes, who collect here to sell their skins. You will hear them whooping and shouting in the streets the whole night. A few days after Proctor's defeat, the town was so full of famished savages, that the issue of rations to them did not keep pace with their hunger. I have seen the women and children searching about the ground for bones and rinds of pork, which had been thrown away by the soldiers; meat, in a high state of putrification, which had been thrown into the river, was carefully picked up and devoured; the feet, heads and entrails of the cattle slaughtered by the public butchers, were collected and sent off to the neighboring villages. I have counted twenty horses in a drove fancifully decorated with the offals of the slaughter yard.

It is no more than an act of justice to the

Indians, to state, that during their possession of the place, they conducted better than could reasonably have been expected from savages. What they wanted to eat, they took without ceremony, but rarely committed any other outrage.

The inhabitants are plentifully supplied with many kinds of excellent fish—the white bass nearly as large as a shad, are caught with seins and in great quantities. The population is three fourths of French extraction, and very few understand any other language. They are excessively fond of music and dancing. There is a kind of nunnery, a Roman chapel for devotion and singing; a wretched printing office in which religious French books are printed in a rude style. Learning is almost wholly neglected. In 1809, James M. Miller, of Utica, established a weekly paper entitled the "*Michigan Essay*," but did not meet with sufficient encouragement to continue it beyond the third number.